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THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

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CANADA

AND ITS PROVINCES

A HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS BY ONE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES

GENERAL EDITORS: ADAM SHORTT AND ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY

VOLUME XVI

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CONTENTS

PAGE

EDUCATION IN CANADA UNDER THE FRENCH RÉGIME.

By Abbé A. E. Gosselin

I. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION 323

Education in France in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries—Social Condition and Education of the Colonists—The 'Petite École' of the Jesuits—School founded by Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier—Schools for Boys in the Quebec District—School of the Sulpicians at Montreal—The Charon Brothers—Boys' School at Three Rivers—Country Schools in the Eighteenth Century—Education of Girls—The Ursulines of Quebec—The Ursulines at Three Rivers—Hôpital Général de Québec—Congregation of Notre Dame—Programme of the Primary Schools

II. SECONDARY EDUCATION 361

History of the Jesuit College—Course of Instruction in the Jesuit College—Technical Education, Mathematics and Hydrography—Schools of Arts and Trades—The Latin Schools—The Little Seminary of Quebec

FRENCH EDUCATION, 1763-1913. By Abbé Adelard Desrosiers 397

I. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1763-1824 398

II. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1824-46 412

III. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1846-76 424

IV. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1876-1913 433

ENGLISH EDUCATION. By George W. Parmelee

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 445

THE ROYAL INSTITUTION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING 450

GENERAL STORY OF EARLY ENGLISH EDUCATION . . . 455

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM 469

PAGE

CITY SCHOOLS AFTER 1846 479
PRE-CONFEDERATION QUESTIONS 482
TRAINING OF TEACHERS 485
SUBSIDIARY TRAINING OF TEACHERS 488
SPECIAL TEACHERS 490
ADMINISTRATION 491
UNIVERSITIES 495
SPECIAL SCHOOLS 499
GENERAL REMARKS 500

THREE CENTURIES OF AGRICULTURE. By J. C. CHAPAIS

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS 505
THE FIRST HABITANTS 505
ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE IN QUEBEC . . . 507
ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH SETTLERS IN QUEBEC . . . 509
CONTEMPORARY COLONIZATION IN QUEBEC . . . 511
CLIMATIC AND ISOTHERMAL CONDITIONS IN QUEBEC . . 511
AGRICULTURE IN QUEBEC IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . 512
THE INTRODUCTION OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS . . . 513
LATER IMPORTATIONS OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS . . . 514
LAND-CLEARING AND TILLAGE OF THE SOIL . . . 515
DISTRESS IN QUEBEC BETWEEN 1760 AND 1850 . . . 517
THE HOMES, IMPLEMENTS AND CLOTHING OF THE QUEBEC FARMER 518
AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION AND ASSOCIATIONS . . . 521
AN ERA OF REGENERATION AND PROGRESS IN QUEBEC AGRICULTURE 523
THE DAIRYING INDUSTRY IN QUEBEC 525

FOREST RESOURCES. By E. T. D. CHAMBERS

THE EXTENT OF THE TIMBER LANDS 531
EARLY HISTORY OF FORESTRY IN QUEBEC . . . 532
THE MANAGEMENT OF TIMBER RESOURCES . . . 534
A VALUABLE PROVINCIAL ASSET 539
THE PREMIER PULPWOOD PROVINCE OF CANADA . . . 541
THE PRIVATE WOODLANDS OF THE PROVINCE . . . 545
DANGER OF EXHAUSTION 546
THE PROVINCIAL FORESTRY SERVICE 550

THE FISHERIES. By E. T. D. CHAMBERS PAGE

DURING THE FRENCH RÉGIME 555
THE FIRST GREAT FISHERY COMPANY UNDER BRITISH RULE . 556
THE FISH OF QUEBEC 557
THE GOVERNMENT AND THE FISHERIES 559
INLAND AND SPORTING FISHERIES 561

HISTORY OF MINING IN THE PROVINCE. By FRANK D. ADAMS

CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY 571
EARLY EXPLORATIONS 573
MINERAL PRODUCTS: GENERAL STATISTICS . . . 574
IRON ORE 576
CHROMITE 580
GOLD 581
COPPER ORE AND IRON PYRITES 582
APATITE 588
MICA 589
ASBESTOS 591
GRAPHITE 592
OCHRE 594
CEMENT 595
STONE, BRICK, ETC. 596
ALUMINIUM 596
CALCIUM CARBIDE 596
CONCLUSION 597

EDUCATION IN CANADA UNDER THE FRENCH RÉGIME

EDUCATION IN CANADA UNDER THE FRENCH RÉGIME

I

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Education in France in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

IN order rightly to understand education in Canada under the French régime it is necessary to ascertain the degree of culture possessed by the ancestors of the French-Canadian people when they arrived in the country.

On this question historians, even in our own day, do not agree. In 1881 the Abbé Allain wrote as follows:

> The question of the origin of primary education in France has been keenly discussed for several years past. It has been the theme of many controversies in the press, in deliberative assemblies, and even in clubs and public meetings. In nearly every case it has been boldly affirmed that primary education in France dates only from our own century, and that our fathers had no acquaintance with anything of the kind.

This view, however, is entirely erroneous, and very misleading. Thanks to careful studies that have been made, to works of great value that have been written, to information gathered from the best sources, not only by Catholics, but by non-Catholics such as Duruy and Taine, the historian can now produce evidence to show that, long before the Revolution or even before its principles were thought of, as far back as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, popular

instruction in France was more widespread, and sometimes more thorough, than in the years that followed it.

'Normandy,' writes the Abbé Allain, 'was at all times distinguished by its zeal for primary education. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it maintained in this respect the place it had won in the Middle Ages, that is to say, the first.' 'In the country parts,' observes de Beaurepaire, speaking of the same province, 'provision had been made for popular instruction by the establishment of a multitude of schools kept, in one place, by the curé, in another by the vicar, and elsewhere by clerks in minor orders and masters —schools that were often free, thanks to foundations made out of church funds or by pious individuals.' In 1746 the Abbé Terrisse, vicar-general of Rouen, went so far as to say that, in the country parts of Normandy, 'everybody was educated.'

In most of the French provinces there were numerous schools, and this was clearly the case in Picardy, Ile-de-France, Artois, French Flanders, etc. In the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne alone there were, between 1724 and 1732, 235 schools for 319 parishes. In the dioceses of Reims and Meaux there was, at the time of the Revolution, an average of one school per parish.

In Champagne, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Bretagne, Bourgogne, Savoie, Dauphiné, Provence and other provinces education was held in honour, and the Abbé Allain could therefore write with perfect truth that 'in a great number of provinces most of the parishes had their schools; in the others the cities, towns and larger villages were provided with them.' 'These facts,' he added, 'are in perfect accord with the testimony of contemporaries.'

Finally we may quote from Taine's great work, *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine*:

> Before the Revolution, the little schools were innumerable; in Normandy, Picardy, Artois, French Flanders, etc., there were nearly as many schools as parishes, in all probably from 20,000 to 25,000 for the 37,000 parishes in France; and these were well attended and efficient, for in 1789 forty-seven per cent of men and twenty-six

per cent of women knew how to read and write, or at least to sign their names.

We shall not go so far as to claim that popular education was then by any means what it is to-day; but it was much more general than has commonly been supposed; and it may at least be said that most of those who desired to learn to read and write had the means of doing so. These means of instruction and education were, in great part at least, the gift of the church and the clergy to the people. What it had done for the education of children in the Middle Ages and in the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And the fact should not be overlooked that its attention was not given solely to moral and religious training, but was bestowed as well on education in its restricted sense, the development of the intelligence.

Schools aided by the churches, maintained by the religious communities, and taught most frequently by the clergy, regular or secular, were very numerous during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the Abbé Allain notes, they were relatively, but not absolutely, free. They were provided for out of legacies, foundations and donations, due to the generosity of the clergy or of pious and charitable persons. Thanks to these benefactions the poor could avail themselves of the advantages of education.

The clergy aimed at encouraging popular education by kindling the ardour of parents and masters, by exciting emulation among the children, by becoming schoolmasters themselves. The priests were, in a word, the protectors and the principal support of the popular school. A certain number of pious laymen imitated the example thus set by devoting a portion of their means to the same good work.

Finally the French government, far from neglecting the education of the people, assisted it by various encouragements, and sometimes by the exertion of its authority. The Abbé Allain writes: 'It maintained the rights of all, those of the Church, those of the local authorities, and those of fathers of families; by favouring scholastic foundations; by freeing them from burdensome formalities; by authoriz-

ing municipal taxation when necessary; by encouraging all good intentions; by repressing abuses and settling contentions.'

This brief *résumé* will give an idea of what primary education was in France, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It will serve also to show how it was that in Canada, in the early days of the colony, the example of the mother country was so closely followed.

In New France, founded and peopled by Frenchmen, administered by a French government, it was natural that an effort should be made to reproduce, as faithfully as possible, manners, customs and institutions that were dear to the colonists. One may reasonably, therefore, expect to discover here, in due proportion, the same zeal for education, the same programmes, the same methods, and the same books as in the mother country.

Why should not the first colonists, who had themselves enjoyed a certain amount of instruction, have sought to procure equal advantage for their children, when circumstances and the means at hand made it possible? Why should we suppose that the secular priests as well as members of the religious orders, Jesuits or Récollets, coming principally from Old France, should have wished to employ in New France other methods and other books than those which they had used in the Old World for purposes of study and instruction? There is no reason why the clergy of Canada should have shown less zeal for education than the clergy of France. They knew their duty in this respect and never sought to evade it. The civil ordinances, the diocesan statutes, and above all the example of their bishops, contributed not a little to facilitate their task.

Let us add that the government of Canada readily lent its aid to this important work, and became the auxiliary of the church. Nor did it merely encourage the efforts of the clergy and of the people on behalf of education; but, as we shall see later, it often aided them by contributions.

Social Condition and Education of the Colonists

Before entering on the study of primary education in Canada it will be well to inquire to what social class the first colonists who came from France belonged and what amount of education they probably possessed.

In general these colonists were neither of noble rank nor specially intellectual. 'The heads of families who went out to Canada,' says Le Clercq, 'were decent townspeople of small means, or artisans of different trades, or labourers in poor circumstances, or soldiers.' Charlevoix expresses himself to the same effect: 'The first inhabitants of Canada,' he writes, 'were either mechanics employed in useful pursuits, or persons of good family who went thither with the sole object of living more peacefully.'

Most of the colonists must have had to content themselves with the education that was then being given to the common people, that is to say, reading, writing and arithmetic. They had received in addition a solid foundation of religious instruction; and if among them were found some, possibly a considerable number, who could neither read nor write, it may still be said that on the whole they possessed a good moral education.

The manner in which the colonists were selected and their contact with distinguished persons, governors, intendants, priests, etc., contributed in no small measure to the work of blending the several elements of a population sprung from different provinces of France, and enable us to understand how it was that, from the earliest times, the same tastes, the same aspirations, the same form of speech prevailed in the colony. Doubtless *patois* did not disappear entirely from the language of the people, who continued to intersperse their conversation with dialectical expressions; but, on the whole, the French language won its way everywhere in a short time. One reason of this rapid unification of the language is to be sought in the education that a number of the first colonists brought with them from the Old World.

Among the earliest settlers in the colony a good proportion could both read and write: notarial records, official papers

and the civil registers can be appealed to in proof, although care was not always taken to make witnesses sign their names. 'A thing that we have remarked,' writes the historian Garneau, 'and that deserves to be noted is that a great number of contracts bear the signatures of the married parties and of their relatives or friends, a proof that education was more general among the colonists from over the sea than is generally supposed. Marriage contracts are signed by several witnesses.'

This testimony, corroborated by J. E. Roy, is of great value because it is derived from the office records of the old notaries. Careful investigation by the present writer confirms these views by additional evidence. Thus, for example, for the period between 1634 and 1680 we succeeded in counting over eight hundred signatures of men, most of them belonging to the region of Quebec, which was the special field of our researches. In this number the signatures of important personages who, by their rank and condition, would necessarily know how to write are not comprised, or those of the secular clergy or of the religious orders. Remembering that at this early period the country had but a limited population, 2500 souls in 1663 and 9677 in 1681, these figures tell a remarkable story.

It is safe therefore to conclude that, on their arrival in Canada, a good many of the colonists were able to sign their names. The same was true of the women who came with them, or who were sent out from time to time. After having examined all the records of the early notaries, J. E. Roy makes the following statement: 'What especially surprised us in going through these dusty dockets was to observe the degree of education possessed by these girls. . . . Nearly all were able to write their names, and very creditably in the matter of penmanship.'

This state of things explains the interest that the early settlers took in the instruction of their children and their eagerness to have them educated wherever any opportunity was offered. The following pages will furnish abundant proofs of this fact, and also of the excellent disposition of the civil and religious authorities towards the education of the young.

The 'Petite École' of the Jesuits

Before 1634 the few children who were living at Quebec (the only place in Canada at the time where there was any group of colonists) were too young to require a regular school. In that year, however, several new families arrived in the country. The Jesuits then decided to put into execution a project they had formed some years earlier of founding a college. As a matter of fact they were impelled to do so by the colonists themselves. Father le Jeune wrote to Cardinal Richelieu on August 1, 1635: 'Families are beginning to multiply [at Quebec] and they are already pressing us to open a school for the instruction of their children, which we shall commence soon with the Divine help.' 'What a blessing it would be,' he writes again in the course of the same year, 'if next year we should be writing that here, in New France, we are conducting classes in three or four languages. I hope, if we can get suitable quarters, to see three classes at Quebec; the first of French boys to the number perhaps of twenty or thirty, the second of Hurons, and the third of Montagnais.' Again in the month of August: 'We are teaching Christian doctrine to the children, and, as they are increasing in number by the arrival of new families, we shall soon be giving them their first lessons in letters, as I mentioned. The beginnings are small, but the outcome may be something great and blessed.'

The *petite école* of the Jesuits was opened in 1635, and in the following year Father le Jeune wrote in the *Relation*: 'We commenced teaching last year. Father Lalemant, and afterwards Father de Quen, instructed our little French folk, and I a few young Indians. We are astonished to see ourselves surrounded by so many children at this early stage.'

The school that the inhabitants had built near the fort, and which served as a boarding establishment, was destroyed by fire in 1640. The Jesuits secured another lodging and went on with their teaching. In 1651 a new residence was opened, the management of which was entrusted to a pious layman named Martin Boutet; a coadjutor brother conducted the class and taught the children to read and

write. During the whole period of French domination, and even afterwards, one of the Jesuits was always employed in the *petite école*. Gilles Ménard, an old soldier of the regiment of Carignan, taught there for twenty years, from 1666 to 1686; we may mention in this connection also Germain Piérard, Jean Marc, Pierre Le Tellier and Brother Noël.

The elementary classes conducted by the Jesuit Fathers were generally very well attended. As early as 1635 Father le Jeune was hoping to be able to count twenty-five or thirty pupils; Ménard had large classes; and in 1735 the pupils numbered one hundred.

Down to the end of the seventeenth century the Jesuit school seems to have been the only elementary one in existence at Quebec, and it sufficed for the population. The whole colony in fact contained in 1666 only 3215 souls, of which number 416 were children between seven and fifteen years of age, seventy-three of these being at Quebec. Yet in that year the Jesuit Fathers had twenty resident pupils and the Ursulines twenty-one; and it is known that both these institutions had a still larger number of day scholars.

In any case, the Jesuits alone kept a regular school for boys. Monseigneur de Laval, a great friend of education, took a special interest in their work, and, to aid them, paid the board of a certain number of scholars.

In 1685 the population of Quebec had risen to 1205. The Lower Town particularly had increased considerably, and Bishop Laval decided to open a school there. His departure for France in the following year delayed for some years the execution of this project, and it is impossible to give the precise date of the establishment of the school projected by him; a school for boys was certainly established in the Lower Town before 1700, and one for girls as early as 1691.

School founded by Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier

Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier, who was greatly interested in the education of children, resolved in 1699 to establish an elementary school in the Upper Town. He requested the priests of the Seminary to take charge of it, and this they

did, though with some reluctancy. In the contract executed on January 22, 1699, Saint-Vallier gives the reasons that impelled him to create this new establishment :

> Through a special zeal that he has for searching out the most effective means for ensuring that the children of this colony, as well as all other persons under his direction, may be sufficiently educated, and that no one of any age may fall into ignorance through lack of necessary instruction, and foreseeing that the best thing that could be done for the children of this city of Quebec and the surrounding country would be to establish schools where they could be taught reading, writing and counting and other things connected therewith needful for their education, he laid his intentions in this respect before the priests of the Seminary, who with great goodwill have accepted the said propositions.

The Seminary took upon itself to furnish a competent schoolmaster and the bishop undertook to give annually four hundred livres for eight years, and at the expiration of this period to ' place in the hands of the priests of the Seminary a deed of sale for which the king answered ' as a permanent endowment for the school.

This foundation gave rise to difficulties between the Jesuits, the bishop and the Seminary, but the parties soon came to an understanding, and the school was opened in October 1700. The first director was J. B. Tétro, who had just concluded his ' Rhetoric.' The new establishment was under the immediate control of the headmaster of the *Petit Séminaire* and under the general supervision of the curé of Quebec. Its classes were soon numerously attended. In 1703 the Seminary made over the property to the *fabrique* of Quebec, but continued to direct the classes. Two hundred livres were appropriated annually for the salary of the person in charge of the junior class. This school continued until the end of the French régime.

Schools for Boys in the Quebec District

Outside the city of Quebec, in the surrounding parishes, there were, as early as the seventeenth century, a certain

number of primary schools for boys. One of the first, if not the first, established was that of St Joachim, founded by Bishop Laval, probably at the same time as his Seminary. He opened at Cap Tourmente a model farm, where the pupils, while taking part in the work of the fields, were taught, besides the catechism, reading, writing and arithmetic. This school was not intended solely for the children of the place, and was attended by pupils from every part of the district. Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier visited this school on his arrival in Canada in 1685. 'My chief care at Cap Tourmente,' he wrote in his report, 'was to examine one after another thirty-one youths whom two ecclesiastics of the Seminary were bringing up; nineteen of these were taking a course of study, while the remainder were practising trades.' From a statement of the Revenues of the Communities in 1690, we see that in that year there were at St Joachim 'forty scholars whose board was paid by their parents, at the low rate of three livres and one bushel of salt per month. Some even were taken without any charge at all.'

The school was therefore flourishing at this period. To ensure its continuance Bishop Laval founded on June 8, 1693, six scholarships for poor students. The conditions for attendance were:

> These children must belong to the country, and be of good morals and adapted to manual labour; they will be chosen by the superiors and directors of the Seminary and be fed, maintained, and instructed in good morals, in piety, in reading and writing, or trained to farm work or other industries carried on there, until they have attained the age of eighteen years, when they will be capable of gaining their living and earning wages.

A few days later, on June 17 of the same year, the Abbé Soumande, a priest of the Seminary and director of the school of St Joachim, moved by the example of his bishop, founded in his turn three scholarships for poor pupils on the same conditions. These three scholarships, which the abbé paid for out of his private means, represented a sum of 6000 livres. In 1695 he added to that sum 4000 livres, on the sole condition that the pupils of Cap Tourmente should recite every day

in common the little office of the Immaculate Conception. Finally, realizing that nothing was more important than to have competent instructors, Abbé Soumande in 1701 gave a further sum of 8000 livres to 'bind the Seminary to carry on the instruction of the three scholars provided for in 1693 as far as the beginning of the humanities, in order that they might become qualified to be school teachers.' It would have been difficult for any one to be more generous : in eight years this Canadian priest had given the school no less than 18,000 livres, a very considerable sum for those days.

This idea of providing for the education of schoolmasters, or in other words of establishing a normal school, was not a new one. Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier had, as early as 1685, expressed it to the minister. The latter had congratulated him on his plan, and had recommended him to do all in his power to bring about the creation of such establishments. But nothing came of the proposal at the time ; and, as we shall see later, it was reserved to the Charon Brothers to take a step in advance. It was already evident, however, that both the civil power and the religious authorities, far from being opposed to such establishments, regarded them most favourably.

At the close of the seventeenth century the school at St Joachim was in a flourishing condition. Champigny wrote in 1699 : 'It is an extensive establishment. . . . Numbers of youths, the sons of habitants, are there brought up and educated, and everything is managed in a very orderly manner and with much benefit to the colony.'

In 1702 the Latin school of St Joachim, founded in 1701, was transferred to Château-Richer. Bishop Laval's bursars were the only ones who remained at Cap Tourmente, where the elementary school and the trade school were formed into one. Peter Kalm, who visited the place in 1749, wrote : 'Two priests reside at St Joachim with a certain number of boys to whom they teach reading, writing and Latin.' And so things remained to the end of the French régime.

The St Joachim school, though intended for the children of the whole countryside and seigniory of Beaupré, was really not centrally situated, and many of the inhabitants found

themselves unable to send their boys to it on account of the distance. Laval, who took an equal interest in each and all of his *censitaires*,[1] wished to make it easier for them to provide instruction for their children, and had therefore, at some time prior to 1674, established a school at Château-Richer. The account books of 1674 preserved at the Quebec Seminary seem to show that there was even a residence for pupils at that place with a considerable number of boarders. The school in question was one for boys. Charles Roger, Eustache Rondeau and Toussaint Lefranc, who taught classes there, in turn or simultaneously, during a long period of years, seem to have been at the same time working for the church and the curé. Such instances were common enough at this period. The teaching being of a simple character, a respectable man of good behaviour and able to teach reading and writing and a little arithmetic met all requirements.

In 1702, as mentioned above, the Latin school of St Joachim was transferred to Château-Richer and placed under the direction of the Abbé Nicolas Boucher, who had, to assist him as professors or monitors, seminarists named Le Blond and Descormiers. Boucher remained only three years (1702-5) at the head of this new institution. Among his first pupils may be mentioned François Damours, Joseph Chasles, Simon Gaulin, Guillet and Picard. This establishment went out of existence in 1705. Boucher returned to the ministry and the curé of Château-Richer, G. Gaultier, remained, with a teacher, in charge of the primary school.

For a long period Bishop Laval and the Quebec Seminary had borne the entire expense of this school, the inhabitants being too poor to assist them. But in 1704, the house in which the children gathered needing to be repaired, the inhabitants of Beaupré, desiring to aid Laval 'to put the seigneurial residence in suitable condition for accommodating the *petites écoles*,' made a collection for that purpose through all the surrounding country. The colonists were thus prepared to make sacrifices for the education of their children.

[1] Holders of land in a seigniory, and as such liable to the payment of various seigneurial dues.

Another of the boys' schools first established in the district of Quebec was undoubtedly that at Point Levy. A chronicler whose manuscript is in the archives of the Quebec Seminary wrote in 1786: 'Some of the scholars of that year [1695] and of the succeeding years owed the commencement of their education to Philippe Boucher, the curé of Point Levy, who opened in his own house a school that gained high repute and was largely attended.' This school was probably in existence before 1694. Pupils were sent to it from all parts, from the district of Montreal as well as from those of Three Rivers and Quebec. Among the pupils of this school, evidently quite numerous, we have only been able to gather from the records the names of those who, after having studied there for some years, went to the Quebec Seminary to complete their education. Of these there were only ten in twelve years. The number is relatively small, but it must be remembered that parents sent to the Seminary only those of their children who showed some disposition for an ecclesiastical career. The others, far the larger number, returned to their families after having learned to read and write. Boucher taught also the elements of Latin, and pupils like Pierre Martel were already able to translate French into Latin when they left the school. We are not able to state whether the curé Boucher kept his school open till his death in 1721. It is certain that several priests and distinguished citizens owed to him the beginnings of their education. It is easy to recognize in Philippe Boucher one of those excellent curés spoken of by the intendant Raudot, who, 'setting apart a portion of what they receive from their parishes, consecrate it to the cause of education.' The example of the curé Boucher was probably followed by some of his confrères, and this explains the large number of children who were able to learn to read and write.

Besides the elementary school we have mentioned there were others in the region of Quebec—at Sillery, at Ste Foy, at Ste Famille on the Island of Orleans. We have no precise documents to prove that Sillery possessed its French school for boys as early as the seventeenth century; but we know from the intendant Duchesneau that, before 1681, young

Indians were being taught there to read and write ; and it is reasonable to suppose that the Jesuits serving that mission would do as much for the French group, already numerous at the time, as they did for the Indians. The early history of the school at Lorette is the same. The Ste Foy mission, opened in 1668, had its school for the French before 1673, and perhaps from the beginning. In the *Relation* of 1673 Father Dablon wrote : ' This year, our Hurons, having seen that, in the school at Notre Dame de Ste Foy for French children, those who misbehaved were chastised, came to the conclusion that, in order to train their own children properly, it was necessary to chastise them for their faults, as was done with the French children. This is why the captain has formed the habit of now and again going around the village shouting at the top of his voice for the fathers and mothers to make known to Father Héchon (F. Chaumonot) the faults of their children so that the boys may be whipped by the French schoolmaster and the girls by a good matron.'

In the same year we find at Ste Famille on the Island of Orleans a man named François Labernade, who taught later at Champlain and at La-Prairie-de-la-Magdeleine. We cannot affirm that Labernade taught on the Island of Orleans, but it is certain that there was a schoolmaster at Ste Famille in 1676, proof of this being furnished by the account books of the Quebec Seminary. Laval, who was proprietor of the island until 1675, must have had something to do with the establishment of this school. François Berthelot exchanged the Ile Jesus for the Island of Orleans in 1675, and, as he was a great friend of education, doubtless followed the example set by Laval. In any case, Bishop Saint-Vallier represents Berthelot as ' well known for his zeal for the decoration of churches and by his establishment of elementary schools for children.'

It is possible also that the Sisters of the Congregation may have had in their house at Ste Famille, founded in 1686, a school for boys, inasmuch as one of the early curés of that period, speaking of his predecessor, Lamy, said that, in establishing the Sisters' school, he had procured ' a real and general advantage to both sexes.'

All the elementary schools of which we have been speaking existed in the seventeenth century. If all were not continued the fact remains that, at an early period, thanks to the enthusiasm of the clergy, the region around Quebec was not entirely destitute of the means of instruction.

School of the Sulpicians at Montreal

The town of Montreal was founded in 1642. Fifteen years later Marguerite Bourgeoys opened a school in a stone stable lent to her by de Maisonneuve. The children, boys or girls, were not numerous, because the town was still young, and further because, as Sister Bourgeoys said, all the children died early: 'It was eight years,' she said, 'before we could keep any children at Montreal, which gave us good reason for hope, as God had been taking the first-fruits.'

The school founded by Sister Bourgeoys in 1657 was a mixed one, but boys attended it only for the first ten years. The Notre Dame Congregation had enough to do attending to the education of girls. But as children began to be more numerous the priests of St Sulpice undertook, about the year 1666, to open a school for boys. The Abbé Souart was the first teacher, as may be seen by a document of September 15, 1686, in which he is described as 'former curé of Notre Dame of this city and conductor of the first schools established in this place.' But Souart taught probably only for a short time. In fact, as early as 1666 two Sulpicians, Guillaume Bailly and Mathieu Ranuyer, arrived at Montreal to take charge of the elementary schools. Six years later is chronicled the arrival of Rémy, sub-deacon, who, as we learn from a document preserved at St Sulpice, was for a long time teacher of the small schools.

Two priests named Certain and La Faye were also sent from France to Canada for the same purpose. In a word, the classes inaugurated by St Sulpice in 1666 were kept up with great regularity. It seems that about 1685 there was some question of establishing a residence for boarders, but the scheme was not carried into effect.

In 1686 the citizens of Ville-Marie desired to aid the priests of St Sulpice to complete a work in which they were particularly interested. They consequently formed an association composed of Mathurin Rouiller, Nicolas Barbier, Philibert Boy and Jacob Thomelet. On September 15 of this year the abbés Souart and La Faye, in the name of the Seminary, conceded to 'the Association of citizens of Ville-Marie, for the schools of that city,' half an arpent of land in Notre Dame Street for the establishment of some elementary schools. One of the associates, Mathurin Rouiller, was schoolmaster. He was either to act as teacher himself or else to find other teachers, the first of whom were probably the associates who undertook to teach the children 'reading, writing and other good precepts.'

This association lasted only seven years. Two of the members having disappeared, the others handed over in 1693 all the property of the schools to the *fabrique* and curé of Notre Dame, and a few days later the latter transferred the whole to the priests of St Sulpice.

The Abbé Chaigneau was the director of these schools, which, according to a regulation made by the Bishop of Quebec in 1694, were to remain under the direction of the curé, who might appoint as teachers either ecclesiastics or schoolmasters. The priests of St Sulpice were energetic administrators and the schools were soon in a flourishing condition. Champigny wrote in 1699: 'The little schools of Ville Marie are kept by a Seminary priest at the same place with excellent results, because it is that establishment which looks after them.'

If the direction of the schools were confided to priests, the actual teaching, on the other hand, was carried on for the most part by clerks in minor orders. Forget, who taught for a number of years, was only tonsured. His probable successor, Jean Jacques Talbot, also in minor orders, arrived in the country in 1716, and taught the schools 'with infinite industry and the most satisfactory results for about forty years.' Another tonsured clerk, Girard, who came to Montreal in 1724 to take charge of the schools, filled that office for over forty years with zeal and success. The

Seminary of Montreal could easily have procured good lay teachers, but it preferred to confide the instruction of the young to priests and clerks. When the number of pupils increased two or more instructors were provided.

The Sulpicians asked no remuneration from parents for the education of their children, but they never refused voluntary contributions. According to Faillon the citizens of Montreal were supposed to pay for the rent of the school. 'Every year,' he says, 'the syndic, accompanied by the clerk of the court, made a collection for that object from private individuals, who were free to contribute or not as they pleased; whatever was lacking of the amount required was made up by the Seminary.'

Apart from the schools in Montreal the Sulpicians probably opened schools in all the parishes they served; this matter will be dealt with later.

The Charon Brothers

The Sulpicians of Montreal were not content with what they themselves were doing for the instruction of youth; they wished to aid, both by encouragement and by actual contributions of money, others who devoted themselves to the same work. The first to profit by their benevolent dispositions were the Charon Brothers.

Jean François Charon, the founder of this community, was born at Quebec in 1654. In 1688, having come into possession of a fortune considerable for that time, he resolved to found a hospital for the sick and infirm and for orphans. This laudable design was not carried into effect till 1692. In that year the authorities of the colony granted to François Charon and his two associates, Pierre Leber and Jean Fredin, permission to establish a house of charity at Montreal. The king by letters patent of 1694 gave permission for the foundation in that city of a hospital as 'a refuge for orphan children, the maimed and the old . . . the said children to be put to work at different trades and to receive as good an education as possible.'

François Charon consequently opened in the hospital a

school in which orphans were taught to read, write and cipher until the time came for them to take up their trades. By new letters patent of 1699 permission was given to establish manufactures connected with arts and trades in 'the house and premises of the Hospital Friars of Montreal.'

The establishment still lacked a normal school, and Charon tried to supply this want. The necessity of having good schoolmasters for the country parishes was fully recognized. It was natural, therefore, for the priests of St Sulpice to approve the project of Brother Charon. It found approval also with the intendant Raudot, who took the trouble to write to the minister on November 10, 1707, to interest him in the proposed foundation.

In his letter the intendant begins by remarking that, owing to the lack of schoolmasters, children are badly brought up. He adds :

> They ought to be corrected while they are still susceptible to discipline, and for that we require schoolmasters in all the settlements, who, in addition to the instruction they would impart, would teach the children at an early age to be obedient. Brother Charon is already trying to train teachers, but his community has not the necessary funds, and ought to receive assistance. If the king would add two thousand livres to what he already allows, the Brothers could train good teachers, which would be a great benefit to the colony.

The minister replied to Raudot on June 8, 1708, asking for more detailed information on the subject of the proposed establishments. On October 18 of the same year the intendant wrote again to the minister in favour of the project ; but it was several years before the help asked was granted. Finally, in 1718, thanks to the intervention of Raudot, who had gone back to France, and to the favourable testimony of Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier, the king decided to aid the Charon Brothers. In his letters of confirmation he said :

> Having been informed by our beloved and lieges the Sieurs de Vaudreuil, governor and lieutenant-general in New France, and Bégon, intendant, of the usefulness of the said hospital in the colony, and having learnt by the

> certificates and letters of our beloved and liege the Sieur de Saint-Vallier, bishop of Quebec . . . that it would be very advantageous for the diocese of Quebec to be able to train in that hospital schoolmasters who might be sent out into the country ; and having been further informed that young boys are growing up without any education . . . we have resolved, in confirming the establishment of the said hospital, to give special authority to its members present and future for the work of instructing boys, and to bestow upon that hospital an endowment for the maintenance of a certain number of schoolmasters.

This endowment of three thousand livres was intended in part no doubt for the hospital, but also for the maintenance of six schoolmasters, whom the directors were to send, with the permission of the bishop, into the parishes of the diocese.

On receiving this news the governor and the intendant, who did not consider it advisable to train schoolmasters for the country districts, felt obliged to justify their opinion to the court. They wrote as follows :

> If the council would permit us to explain our opinion in regard to this change,[1] we should take the honour of representing that the instruction which the parties concerned are offering to give to the boys of this colony is only a specious pretext, inasmuch as there are schools for them in the towns . . . while, in the country, the inhabitants not being gathered in villages, but being separated from one another according to the extent of land conceded to them individually along the same lines, schoolmasters are not able to give any instruction to boys beyond teaching them their catechism on fête days and Sundays, which the curés already do.

Notwithstanding these objections the Marine Council maintained its decision.

François Charon, then in France, succeeded in finding six schoolmasters, with whom he left for Canada in the autumn of 1719. Unfortunately the founder died shortly afterwards, on board the *Chameau*, near La Rochelle.

[1] The three thousand livres appropriated to paying the dowries of poor girls were to form the endowment for the benefit of the schoolmasters.

Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier appointed Brother Turcq to take the place of François Charon. The Hospitallers set to work bravely and established themselves in some parishes served by the priests of St Sulpice. In 1719 Lechassier, superior at Paris, wrote to de Belmont: 'It is so great an advantage to be able to distribute good schoolmasters throughout the Island of Montreal and the surrounding country, that we must contribute to the success of this good work and to the securing of good teachers, men of true and solid piety, of pure morals and sound doctrine.'

By 1720 the Hospitallers had done honour to their foundation. They were keeping a school not only in their hospital, but also at each of the following places: Pointe-aux-Trembles (Montreal), Boucherville, Longueuil, Batiscan and Three Rivers. This list is taken from a procuration given to Brother Turcq on September 27, 1721, by the community of the General Hospital, and is consequently authentic. Moreover, in the previous year, Vaudreuil and Bégon had assured the council that the number of masters required by the king had been completed. Yet, on October 4, 1721, de Ramezay, governor of Montreal, wrote to the council:

> I feel obliged to inform the council that they [the Charon Brothers] are by no means fulfilling their obligations, either in regard to the instruction of children, or in the matter of caring for the eleven old men who are lodged in their hospital. . . . Nor are they instructing the children not having any qualified teachers. There are nevertheless seven Brothers in that community, two only of whom have been there from the first; of these one is acting as missionary at Pointe-aux-Trembles. The others do nothing but spend what belongs to the poor.

The letter continues in this strain, declaring that the brothers are without learning, morals or discipline; that three have left the community, and that two only are teaching in the parishes; in conclusion it requests that the allowance made to the Charon Brothers should be transferred to the nuns of the hospital.

The attitude of Ramezay towards the Hospital Brothers

appears unjust. Otherwise, is it likely that the governor and the intendant would have declared in 1720 that the required number of six masters was complete ? Would the community itself have had the audacity to give in 1721 the names of all these masters, and to indicate the parishes in which they were teaching ? Finally, could Vaudreuil and Bégon have written to the council on October 8, 1721, four days after the date of Ramezay's letter, to say that they would continue to see that the number of masters that the community of the General Hospital of Montreal was bound to provide should be maintained ?

The only observation that the governor and the intendant made was that Brother Turcq, instead of applying half of the three thousand livres to the support of schoolmasters serving in the parishes, kept the whole of it for the hospital. De Ramezay had changed his ideas entirely concerning the Charon Brothers since 1707 ; he had then found them very useful in his government, and had even entrusted two of his own sons to them to be taught the sciences of navigation and fortification.

In any case, the complaints of the governor of Montreal do not seem to have changed the opinion of the Marine Council, for it continued to pay the allowance promised in 1719. An order of March 1722 confirmed the allowance, which was to be employed annually ' for the support of eight schoolmasters at the rate of 375 livres a year each, six of them to serve in the country parishes of the diocese of Quebec, and two in the hospital of the said Brothers, to teach reading and writing to young boys.'

Another order of the month of June obliged the eight schoolmasters to teach gratuitously without asking anything from the parents. His Majesty let it be understood at the same time that he did not wish to restrain any liberality that the inhabitants might wish to exercise towards the hospital in connection with the instruction of the young.

It is clear that every one, both in France and in Canada, seemed to take an interest in the work of the Hospitallers. In 1723 the Marine Council gave free passage on the king's ship to twelve men, some for the hospital and some

for the schools. Vaudreuil and Bégon, for their part, took care that the proper number of schoolmasters was kept up; their only complaint was that the hospital rather neglected its teachers. 'The inhabitants,' they said in 1723, 'are disposed to furnish board and lodging to the teachers in the country in consideration of the advantage they obtain in having their children instructed; they only complain that the Hospital contributes nothing towards their support.'

In the same year it was rumoured in Canada that the court was going to suppress the Charon Brothers. The Bishop of Quebec having written to the Marine Council on this subject, reply was made in 1724 that the report had no foundation; that, on the contrary, the community in question was considered very useful, particularly in respect to the schoolmasters it supported.

It was at this time that Brother Chrétien, superior of the Hospitallers, tried to put into execution the project, conceived by the founder, of establishing at La Rochelle a house for the training of schoolmasters. During his stay in Paris in 1718-19 François Charon had presented a petition to the king to this effect. After recalling what His Majesty had already done to assure the subsistence and support of six schoolmasters, the founder continued:

> But the petitioner, being fully aware that the kind intentions expressed in His Majesty's letters patent will never be realized until the schoolmasters of Canada have an establishment in France, where persons in that country who are disposed to engage in that good work may confirm themselves during a period of noviciate in their vocation, and fit themselves for the instruction of young children; and knowing that those who are brought to Canada without this preparation, at considerable cost for travelling expenses, etc., are often found when they arrive at the field of their duties ill-fitted for the instruction of the young, and sometimes cause scandal by abandoning their first design . . . offers to give a house worth 9000 livres, and a sum in cash of 1000 livres to aid in creating such an establishment.

To found and direct this normal school François Charon had chosen the Brothers of the Christian Schools. A letter

of Brother Barthélemy, their superior, dated February 18, 1718, shows that, at that time, definite arrangements were almost completed. The intervention of Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, founder of the institute, stopped all the negotiations, and nothing more was done at the time. 'It was afterwards learnt,' reports the biographer of Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, Abbé Guibert, 'that the proposal was to disperse the Brothers among the country curés. This dispersal, contrary to a fundamental rule of the Institute, would certainly have ruined the Brothers. God had given to His servant on this occasion a presentiment of the peril to which they were about to be exposed.' Another effort was made, in 1737, to persuade the Brothers of the Christian Schools to come to Canada, but without any greater success.

As to the Hospitallers of Montreal, the financial embarrassment in which they were involved by an imprudence of Brother Chrétien in 1724 made it impossible for them to do anything. The court, nevertheless, would not relieve them of the obligation to furnish eight schoolmasters.

In 1727 the civil and religious authorities elaborated a set of regulations for the Charon Brothers, and, in sending it to the court for approbation, the governor and the intendant apparently proposed some plan for increasing the number of schoolmasters. In their reply of 1728 the authorities approved the views expressed on this subject.

In the autumn of the same year the court was assured 'that they will follow out the views that they [the Charon Brothers] entertain in regard to establishing schoolmasters in each parish as is done in France, and granting them certain emoluments and privileges; and that in this way His Majesty will find himself relieved for the future of what he now provides for this service.' This proposition was accepted, and in 1729 the authorities of New France were instructed to follow the methods in operation in France for increasing the number of teachers.

In 1730 the king deprived the Charon Brothers of the subsidy of 3000 francs that had been granted to them, 'because they have not properly fulfilled their obligation to instruct the young and maintain schools in the country.'

From that date the institute of the Hospitallers steadily declined. In 1747 the only two remaining brothers resigned the management of the hospital, the charge of which was entrusted to Madame d'Youville. The last superior of the Hospitallers died in June 1747.

This community does not appear to have received justice at the hands of certain historians. The educational work of the brothers, though not perfect, and though failing perhaps to accomplish all that was expected of it, still rendered good service to the colony ; and if, for several years, the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers were fairly well provided with schools, it is not too much to say that they owed it to the Charon Brothers.

Boys' School at Three Rivers

The Three Rivers region developed somewhat slowly, and consequently there were fewer schools there than elsewhere. The first teacher we know of at Three Rivers is the notary Séverin Ameau. He had settled there as early as 1652, and for a long time he was at once notary, choir singer and schoolmaster. He was replaced about the year 1700, probably by J. B. Pothier, also a notary. A little later the Charon Brothers established a school at Three Rivers and sent thither Brother Lagirardière. To induce the brothers to establish themselves permanently in that town René de Tonnancour and his wife gave them a piece of land to be used ' for educational purposes.'

In 1739, owing perhaps to the dearth of qualified instructors and to the financial embarrassments through which it had lately passed, the community had not fulfilled its obligations. In May of that year the brothers received notice that unless they could fulfil their contract within three months the *fabrique* would resume possession of everything, ' land and buildings.' The fate of the brothers' school is unknown. There were certainly other schools at Three Rivers. A man named Rigault was teaching there in 1737. It seems even that there was a school maintained by the *fabrique* at that date.

The Récollets, too, maintained one or more schools here for many years. The citizens of the town made a statement to that effect in a petition presented to the governors asking for the restoration to them of the old monastery of the Récollets: 'Those Fathers,' they said, 'always maintained a free school for small boys in this place.' This is in no way surprising. The Récollet Fathers were curés of Three Rivers from 1671 to 1683 and from 1693 to 1777, and in that capacity they had a right to maintain schools in their parishes. Moreover, we may claim that these good fathers taught in several places during the French régime; such at least is the opinion of the historian Garneau, of the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, and of Monseigneur Têtu.

It is impossible, from lack of information, to form any exact idea as to the nature of the primary instruction given in the parishes of the Three Rivers district. We only know that there were schoolmasters at Champlain in 1682, at Batiscan in 1721, and at Ste Anne-de-la-Pérade in 1738.

Country Schools in the Eighteenth Century

Documentary evidence is conflicting as to whether elementary education was general in the country districts of New France in the eighteenth century, and whether there were any schoolmasters in the rural communities. Thus, for example, we have seen Raudot declaring in 1707 that there were no schoolmasters in the country places. In the following year he said that where there were no Sisters of the Congregation the children could not read. In 1718 the king claimed to have been informed that 'the children lack instruction,' while, for their part, Vaudreuil and Bégon agreed that in the rural districts there were no schoolmasters. Nevertheless we possess proof that the exceptions were more numerous than would be supposed from these categorical statements. Had there been no schools, and consequently no schoolmasters, of what use would have been all the ordinances of the Bishop of Quebec on this subject? In 1691 he writes to his clergy: 'Do not accept any schoolmaster who is not a man of sound morals, or who has not made a profession of faith before you.

We do not desire that any man you employ shall undertake to instruct girls, but only boys.'

The bishop substantially repeats this admonition in 1700 in the statutes of the fourth diocesan synod, and adds: 'As it is necessary that the curés should have an oversight of the persons who conduct the elementary schools, and of the manner in which they do it, we desire them to have the power of appointing such persons as they may consider suited to that employment.'

In the Ritual that he caused to be printed in 1703 Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier directs that whoever shall make pastoral visitations in his place shall inquire 'if there is a schoolmaster or a schoolmistress, whether they teach the catechism, whether they are of good morals and qualified to teach, whether the boys are at the same school as the girls, and finally whether parents are careful about sending their children to school.'

The bishop even fixes the salary that the curé is to pay to the schoolmasters, who were often, at that period, the auxiliaries of the parish priest.

Why so many injunctions if, as a matter of fact, there were in the diocese neither schoolmasters nor schools? The conclusion to which we are forced is that there were already a certain number of teachers scattered through the parishes.

Leaving aside the schools of Ste Foy and St Joachim, of Château-Richer and of Point Levy, of the Island of Orleans and of Champlain, there were, in the seventeenth century, schools at Fort Frontenac (1675), at La-Prairie-de-la-Magdeleine (1683), at Lachine (1686), at Pointe-aux-Trembles (1689).

Later, in the eighteenth century, we find J. B. Tétro at Boucherville in 1710, Lesage at Ste Anne-de-Beaupré in 1721, Guillemin at Beauport in 1750, Roy at St Antoine de Tilly in 1744, Valin at Lévis in 1748, Guodor at La Durantaye in 1747, etc.

Besides the teachers we have just mentioned, the Charon Brothers sent several teachers into the country districts. Not less than twenty-four brought from France taught either in the hospital or in the parishes. Then there were, exiled to Canada, younger sons of good families who, either unwilling

or unable to do anything else, devoted themselves to teaching, particularly in the country places. These improvised teachers were perhaps more numerous than we imagine. Claude Lebeau reports that in 1729, out of eighteen of such younger sons who arrived in the country, sixteen refused to take employment from the habitants, preferring the work of teaching. It would be interesting to know how many preceded and how many followed them. In any case these amateur teachers were closely watched both by the civil and the religious authorities. Of this the registers of the ordinances of the intendants provide striking proof.

In the year 1727 a man named Le Chevalier was going through the country parts in order to teach children to read and write. His conduct was open to objection, and the inhabitants complained of him to Intendant Dupuy. Dupuy examined Chevalier, and, having satisfied himself that the complaints were well founded, reproved him severely and forbade him, under pain of corporal punishment, to have anything further to do with teaching.

It was probably this incident that determined the intendant to issue a general ordinance respecting schoolmasters. This ordinance, dated June 4, 1727, deserves to be quoted in full :

> We forbid all persons of whatever station or condition other than those already appointed for the purpose, to engage in the teaching of reading and writing to young people either of the town or of the country, or to keep schools for boys or girls without our concurrence, and without having the permission in writing of Monsieur the Bishop of Quebec, or of the Sieur de Lotbinière, member of the Superior Council of Quebec and Archdeacon of this diocese, by whom they shall be subject to be examined, both at the time of receiving a licence from them, and afterwards in the course of their visitations ; such persons being further bound to render an account of their conduct to the curés of the parishes in which they shall teach ; nor shall any man teach a girls' school, nor any woman a boys' school, unless they are married and have the permission in writing of the Bishop of Quebec or of M. de Lotbinière, archdeacon. We order all judges of the ordinary courts, etc., to give this matter

> their attention and to announce it at the conclusion of the parochial mass, and to give us notice and information of the names of all those who are engaged in teaching in country places.

This ordinance sets this matter at rest: the state was using its power in the service of the church.

The parish of Charlesbourg was probably one of the first to comply with the orders of the intendant. A man named Junceria, who wished to teach there, on December 16, 1727, asked and obtained Dupuy's permission to do so. It appears also from a *mandement* of February 24, 1735, that the Bishop of Quebec, Monseigneur Dosquet, fully intended that his clergy should observe the ordinances issued in 1727, as he commands his curés, among other things, not to admit into their parishes any schoolmaster who is not provided with a written permission from the Grand Vicars.

The number of schoolmasters in country places would naturally increase with time and the growth of population, and Kalm, who visited New France in 1749, noted that 'each church is surrounded by a little village consisting principally of the presbytery and of a school for boys and girls.'

All this evidence is hardly sufficient to prove that education was very general throughout the country parishes; though enough has been said to make it clear that, notwithstanding statements to the contrary, there were not a few schoolmasters in the country districts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But the sparseness of the population, the lack of good roads, the severity of the climate, the poverty of the parents, finally an almost constant state of war, were all circumstances that must have operated to prevent the diffusion of primary education in the country parts.

It is astonishing to find in notarial and public documents the signatures of so large a number of men and women belonging to the first generations of the French in Canada. Had there been no country schools all these people would have had to learn to read and write either in the towns or in the family, where frequently the mother or a sister with a little education would turn schoolmistress. For this latter method insufficient allowance has been made; but, even so, we are

inclined to think that of the many men and women who could read and write most had been taught as children in the schools. Out of one hundred and thirty students registered in the annals of the Seminary of Quebec from 1693 to 1703 twenty-three had been taught the rudiments of Latin and sixty-eight knew how to read and write.

The researches of the writer in the registers of certain parishes prove that many of the inhabitants in the country could sign their names. At Ste Foy, for example, we noted seventy-five signatures between 1704 and 1714; at Château-Richer, one hundred from 1717 to 1727; at L'Ange Gardien, one hundred and six from 1727 to 1737. These investigations, if they could have been continued in the Montreal and Three Rivers districts, would probably have given similar results there. Thus at Contrecœur, in one hundred and twenty deeds entered in the registers between 1720 and 1730, we find one hundred and ninety-three signatures of men; at Cap-de-la-Magdeleine, sixty-eight deeds show thirty-five signatures; and these are not isolated instances.

The preceding pages will serve also to correct certain faulty deductions, certain hasty and erroneous judgments pronounced by some of our historians, as, for example, Garneau, who does not appear to have possessed sufficient knowledge of the facts to enable him to decide the question with fairness. In spite of his assertions, it is evident that the clergy were not indifferent to the education of the young, and that the state, far from being opposed to it, did all that it could to forward it. If, notwithstanding the efforts of both, education was not as widely spread in Canada as in France, that was the result of conditions and circumstances, and not the fault of any person.

Education of Girls

It has sometimes been said that under the French régime the women were better educated than the men; but the truth of this statement may be doubted. Why should the latter have had less advantage in that respect than the former? Certainly in the towns there were not more schools

for girls than for boys. It is true that at Quebec the Ursulines began teaching children in 1639, and the Sisters of the Congregation in 1686. But the Jesuit school for boys was opened there in 1635, the one in the Lower Town before 1700, and that of the Seminary about the same time. At Montreal the classes of the Sisters of the Congregation were well attended no doubt, but not better than those of the Sulpicians and of the Hospital Brothers.

The difference, if difference there was, must have arisen from the fact that the Sisters of the Congregation had schools in the rural districts, which of course was a great advantage for the girls ; but it should be remembered that, during the whole French period, there were only nine of these convents outside the towns. Furthermore, in most of these schools there were generally only two sisters, one of whom was employed in teaching while the other did the housekeeping. Even supposing that in each of these houses there were two sisters teaching, the total number then would be only eighteen, and that in the first quarter of the eighteenth century only ; and it is improbable that at that time male teachers in country places did not reach this number.

And if instruction was more general among women than among men, how is it that the latter signed their names while the former for the most part declared themselves unable to do so ? At Château-Richer, for instance, where there was as early as the seventeenth century a convent of Sisters of the Congregation, we find in one hundred and forty-eight registrations of baptisms and marriages between 1708 and 1718 only thirty-five signatures of women ; at L'Ange Gardien, out of two hundred women thirty only signed their names. At St François, Rivière-du-Sud, at Ste Foy, at Contrecœur, at Cap-de-la-Magdeleine, the signatures of men are always more numerous than those of women. We cannot of course draw from these particular facts a general conclusion ; but none the less they are curious ; and, until the contrary is proved, we remain convinced that education was not more general among the women than among the men. In any case, this view of the matter does not in the least detract from the merit of the institutions which devoted themselves so zealously to the

education of the mothers of New France; and the outline that follows will show sufficiently how deeply the country is indebted to these institutions.

The Ursulines of Quebec

The first community to devote itself to the instruction and education of girls in Canada was that of the Ursulines of Quebec. From the time of their arrival in the country they divided their labours between the Indian and the French girls. From 1639 to 1725 they employed themselves in civilizing, instructing and frenchifying as well as they could all the young Indians that the natives were willing to entrust to them; but their principal work was destined to be the education and instruction of French-Canadian girls.

'On the day after our arrival at Quebec,' writes Marie de l'Incarnation, 'they brought us all the girls they could find, both French and Indian.'

In 1642 the Ursulines opened a boarding-school. This was destroyed by fire in 1650; but a new edifice constructed on the ruins of the old enabled the mothers to receive resident pupils again in 1652. The institution grew and prospered rapidly. In 1668 seven choir nuns were employed to instruct the children, both day scholars and boarders. Another conflagration in 1686 served only to show what courage and confidence in God can accomplish: in the following year the misfortune was repaired.

It is not easy to give, even approximately, the number of day scholars taught by the Ursulines under the French régime; but it is different with the boarders. In 1668 Marie de l'Incarnation wrote that there were in the boarding-school only sixteen French and three Indian girls. She says in the following year: 'We have ordinarily from twenty to thirty boarders, and, as day pupils, all the girls both of Upper and of Lower Town.'

If the census of 1667 can be relied on, the ladies of the convent must have had at that time between fifty and sixty pupils, more than half of whom were day scholars. This number was naturally raised with the gradual increase of

population. We find in the Ursulines' annals, from 1639 to 1740, or in the space of one hundred years, the names of 1206 boarders coming from every part of the country. The day scholars were always more numerous.

The Ursulines at Three Rivers

Shortly after his arrival in the country, Monseigneur de Laval had sent some teachers to Three Rivers, one of whom was Sister Raisin of the Congregation of Notre Dame ; but we cannot say how long she remained in that town.

In 1697 Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier founded at Three Rivers a community of Ursulines, who were to devote themselves both to the care of the sick and the instruction of girls. Thanks to repeated acts of generosity on the part of the founder and to the encouragement given by the colonists, the Ursulines of Three Rivers were able not only to hold their ground, but to increase their operations and strengthen their position ; and in 1701 the governor and the intendant informed the minister that these good nuns were 'very useful for the instruction of young girls.'

The community in question, which has done such valuable work in the Three Rivers district, is now engaged solely in the education of the young.

Hôpital Général de Québec

The General Hospital had been founded specially for the care of the aged and the infirm, and down to the year 1725 it had no other object. In that year the venerated founder, Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier, having ascertained that this duty did not fully occupy the time of the nuns, allowed them to open a boarding-school for the education and instruction of young persons of their own sex. In a letter of November 20, 1725, the bishop, now advanced in years, said :

> We consider it suitable and in accordance with your rules and constitutions that you should apply yourselves, apart from taking care of the poor . . . to the education and instruction of persons of your sex. We therefore give

> you power, in accordance with the practice of your communities in France, to take as many pupils as boarders as you may be able to accommodate and provide instruction for. We venture to beg the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Bishops, our successors and brethren, to continue to afford you the means of living in a country so poor and destitute as this one.

The prayer of Saint-Vallier was granted, and the boarding-school of the General Hospital was only closed in 1868.

Congregation of Notre Dame

Marguerite Bourgeoys arrived in Canada in 1653. In 1657, with the aid of Marguerite Picaud, she taught a few children, boys and girls ; but in 1658 she returned to France ' to get some girls to assist her in teaching the few girls and boys who were capable of learning.' She came back to Canada in September 1659 with Sisters Chatel, Crolo and Raisin. The Congregation of Notre Dame was founded in this year. The sisters kept a mixed school until 1665 or 1666, at which date the priests of St Sulpice began the teaching of boys.

Bishop Laval seemed at first to hesitate in approving of the new community. He nevertheless gave it permission in 1669 to instruct children throughout the whole extent of his diocese. The king granted letters patent to it in 1671. Finally, on August 6, 1676, Laval himself gave it his approbation. In his letter he wrote :

> Knowing that one of the greatest benefits that we can procure for our church, and the most efficacious means for preserving and augmenting piety in Christian families, is the instruction and sound education of children ; considering also the blessing that our Lord has given up to the present to Sister Bourgeoys and her companions in the function of teaching elementary schools in which we have employed them, we have incorporated and do incorporate them, permitting them to live in community.

On June 24, 1698, the community accepted the regulations that Bishop Saint-Vallier had caused to be prepared for it,

and on the following day twenty-five sisters made their religious profession.

The new institution soon flourished. Houses were founded at Quebec and in certain parishes of the three districts of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. The zeal and devotion of the sisters; the approbation and encouragement of the civil authority; the desire of the colonists to have their children instructed; and still more, perhaps, the generosity and disinterestedness of bishops, priests and pious laymen, contributed to hasten the foundation of these convents. In 1693 Bishop Saint-Vallier endowed the community with an income of 800 livres. Some years later he attached to it revenues from two other sources amounting to 600 livres and 400 livres respectively. Not content with giving an example himself, he earnestly exhorted his clergy to form similar establishments and declared himself ready to assist them. In 1698 he wrote:

> We consider it very important to urge upon the clergy of the principal parishes of this diocese to do all in their power to convince their people of the great advantage they would receive from the establishment amongst them of a house of the Sisters of the Congregation for the education of girls. We declare that our purpose is to create a fixed revenue for the support and maintenance of two sisters, wherever the inhabitants of a locality will have the courage to build a solid school house for them within four years after the present synod.

It is out of the question to give a detailed history of the different convents of the Notre Dame Congregation founded under the French régime, but it will be well to say in a few words when and how these foundations took place.

Apart from the mother house in the city of Montreal, the Sisters of the Congregation established a certain number of convents in the surrounding region. Amongst those that are known to us, the earliest in date is that of Champlain, founded about 1680, perhaps even earlier. This school was burned down in 1687, but was replaced by another about 1700 through the generosity of the curé Geoffroy. It disappeared finally under the episcopacy of Monseigneur Hubert.

About the same time that the school at Champlain was

opened, a Sulpician, the curé Seguenot, of Pointe-aux-Trembles near Montreal, managed to establish a sisters' school in his parish. As Jacques Viger reports :

> By his exertions and his influence he succeeded in getting his seminary and his parishioners, poor and few in number as they were, to furnish him with the means of building a wooden house in the fort at Pointe-aux-Trembles for the reception of that mission. Sister Bourgeoys was still living, and it was from her hand that the virtuous curé received in 1680 two of these brave spiritual women to go and inhabit that house, exposed to attacks from Indians, and there begin the work of the Christian education of children of their own sex.

This establishment is still in existence.

The foundation of the first convent at Lachine goes back to the year 1686. On February 18 of that year the parishioners resolved to place at the disposal of such sisters as the mother house was willing to send them the old presbytery that had been unoccupied for five years, and the offer was accepted by the Montreal community. After the massacre at Lachine (1689) the two missionary sisters had to return to Montreal. The convent was opened again in the beginning of the eighteenth century, through the efforts of de Villermaula ; in 1784 it was finally closed.

In 1685 Lamy, curé of Ste Famille, Island of Orleans, asked the Congregation to let him have some sisters for his parish. Sister Bourgeoys sent two at the end of the year. As with all missions, the beginnings were difficult ; but the nuns found a father and a benefactor in Lamy, who, by his generous donations, assured the existence of the new convent. François Berthelot, seigneur of the Island of Orleans, did his share in encouraging the good work and contributed to the funds of the establishment. This mission holds its ground to the present day.

Bishop Laval and the Quebec Seminary, desiring to give to their *censitaires* the means of instructing their girls as well as their boys, began in 1693 the construction of a convent at Château-Richer. The house was handsome and spacious,

capable of accommodating forty persons. The Sisters of the Congregation took possession of it shortly afterwards.

The seigneurs of Beaupré (the Quebec Seminary) did not think they had done enough, and by a contract executed on February 23, 1697, they promised to pay annually the sum of 300 livres for the support of the Sisters engaged in teaching at Château-Richer. This revenue, slightly reduced by mutual agreement in 1722, was paid faithfully by the Seminary until the suppression of the mission in 1759.

A priest of St Sulpice, La Soudrays, founded in 1703 the convent of Boucherville. The seigneur gave the land, and the curé undertook the building of the house. The convent of La-Prairie-de-la-Magdeleine dates also from the same time. It owed its inception to the Abbé de Villermaula. The Sisters of the Congregation have still a flourishing mission in this parish. Basset, curé of Pointe-aux-Trembles near Quebec, who had long wished to have some Sisters of the Congregation in his parish, realized his desire in 1716. Nicolas Dupont, seigneur of Neuville, having given the land, the curé had a convent built on it, furnished it in great part at his own expense, and crowned his munificence by deeding to the sisters a piece of land for which he had refused 2400 livres. Lastly, we may mention the mission of St Laurent, near Montreal, founded in 1732. Le Tessier, curé of that parish, contributed largely to the establishment of the convent there, which, however, was closed in 1824, the sisters not finding sufficient occupation.

We have here given in brief space the facts relating to the convents of the Notre Dame Congregation established in country places under the French régime. The smallness of their numbers and the scantiness of their resources were the sole reasons why the sisters did not establish more houses. Those that were erected through the charity of the clergy or of pious laymen and maintained by the sisters by dint of hard work, economy and devotion, did incalculable good in the rural districts.

In order not to break the chronological order of the establishments with which we have just been dealing, we have not yet spoken of the one at Quebec. This mission, the most

important of all, was opened in 1686. Bishop Saint-Vallier gave a dwelling to the sisters and directed them to establish a house to be called the House of Providence, on the model of one that the community was conducting at Montreal, for the purpose of teaching young girls how to work and gain their living in service. Unfortunately this institution—it might be called a school of housekeeping—had but a brief career, as it differed too widely in aim from the special purposes of the Congregation ; in 1689 it was closed. In that year the sisters, anxious not to displease Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier, accepted the direction of a house of charity that the bishop had just erected at Quebec. Two years later the nuns resumed teaching, and opened a school in Lower Town at the request and under the direction of the curé of Quebec. In spite of trials of every kind, this little community succeeded in establishing itself there in 1692, and only left Quebec City in 1844 to go to St Roch de Québec, where it is to-day.

Programme of the Primary Schools

Exactly what the elementary schools were like, what was taught in them, what school books were used, it is not easy definitely to state. We may, however, say that, in general, the same books, the same methods, the same programmes of study, were to be found in Canada as in France at corresponding periods. The reason is very simple. Everything in Canada was French—government, institutions, professors. French Canada could not be expected to invent new methods, elaborate new programmes, or use other books than those that came from Old France, seeing that there was no such thing as printing in the country at that time.

There is still preserved in the archives of the Quebec Seminary a book entitled *Méthode pour faire les Écoles* (Method of School Management). It is dated Lyons, 1676. According to this ' Method,' the classes, which were sometimes numerous, were subdivided in the elementary schools into different groups according to the age and capacity of the children ; no child could pass to a higher group or class until he was considered fit to do so.

The knowledge of religion, as being the first, the most important, the only absolutely necessary thing, formed the basis of instruction ; catechism was taught at least twice a week ; and everything in these schools contributed to the implanting of religion firmly in the minds of the children. Beyond this it was thought sufficient in general to teach the children reading, writing and simple arithmetic. To these were sometimes added the elements of grammar, and, to boys, the elements of Latin. Reading had to be taught in Latin at first, and afterwards in French. The books placed in the hands of the pupils were the *Small* and *Great Alphabet*, the *Psalter*, *Christian Thoughts*, *Introduction to the Devout Life*. The most advanced read from the *Pedagogue*, *Civility*, *Manuscripts* and *Contracts*. The manuals mentioned were not confined to the diocese of Lyons ; they could be found in several provinces of France : in Brittany, Artois and elsewhere. Several of these books were in use in Canada in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; and the library of Laval University contains some very old copies of them. There may also be seen a work on pedagogy, long in use in France and in Canada, entitled *The Parochial School*. It contains much good advice even for the teachers of our own day. These books or manuals, with few exceptions, served as well for the girls as for the boys. In communities of women, apart from these subjects, the children were taught different kinds of work suited to their sex. Attention was likewise paid to correctness of speech and to elocution. In certain boarding-schools instruction was also given in various arts and accomplishments such as embroidering on silk, gold or bark, and occasionally drawing and painting.

Strictly speaking, the instruction given to girls under the French régime was neither extensive, nor profound, nor varied ; on the other hand, the training was excellent, and it was owing particularly to this that the early religious communities succeeded in disseminating among the people that affability, those gentle and polished manners, that most historians and travellers have remarked in Canadians of early days, and particularly in women.

The programme of primary studies both for girls and for

boys was, then, of the greatest simplicity. It was sufficient, however, for the time, and the Abbé Verreau had good reason for writing as follows: 'This programme did not perhaps make *savants*, but it gave to Canada men of heart and energy, and infused into our race that vitality which all the science of to-day, if unaided by the same spirit, would be powerless to impart to it.'

II

SECONDARY EDUCATION

History of the Jesuit College

IN 1626 the Marquis of Gamache gave a considerable sum to the Jesuits for the foundation of a college; but the lack of children and the capture of Quebec in 1629 prevented the project being carried into effect. In 1635, however, the Jesuits thought the time had arrived to begin this higher educational work. Although they were only bound to give spiritual instruction to the Indians, they agreed, at the request of the parents, to give lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic to young French boys. Instruction in Latin followed. The fathers were led to this, in the first place by their own zeal, and, in the second, by the urgent demands of certain families who had decided to come to Canada only on the assurance that they would there be able to obtain for their children 'an education such as not every town in France was able to supply.' Father le Jeune and Father Charlevoix agree on this point.

The Latin lessons were inaugurated at Quebec in 1636, or at the latest, in 1637. Father le Jeune wrote in 1637 that three languages were then being spoken in the college: French, Montagnais[1] and Latin. On June 16, 1640, the college was burned down, leaving professors and pupils without a roof over their heads. The Jesuits procured another lodging and resumed their lessons. In 1651 the governor, Jean de Lauzon, was formally received at the college, when the pupils welcomed him with a Latin oration and French verses—

[1] The collective French name for a group of North American Indian tribes of Quebec Province.

latina oratione et versibus gallicis. In 1653 Father le Mercier states that, 'as regards literary exercises, there are as yet in the college only two classes, one in grammar and the other in mathematics.' The latter had been open for at least two years. The catalogues of 1655 show four professors: one for the elementary school, one for grammar, another for humanities and rhetoric, a fourth for philosophy. The last mentioned was also probably entrusted with the teaching of mathematics. We may say, then, that the classical course was nearly complete, and that there were a number of scholars in each class.

In 1651 the *fabrique* of Quebec, wishing to assist poor scholars, formed a kind of 'mastership,' such as existed in several churches of France at the time. Martin Boutet was put in charge of it. Having a good knowledge of plain-song, being himself a church singer and thoroughly acquainted with the ceremonies of the church, and possessing the full confidence of his fellow-citizens, Boutet had all the qualifications necessary for fulfilling his important duties. A contract was therefore made between him and the *fabrique* of Quebec on September 2, 1651, by which he engaged to serve as beadle, singer, and master of the choir children, and to teach the latter the chants and ceremonies. He was also to board two children in his house for the sum of 300 livres each. In 1659 the *fabrique* increased the number of its boarders to four. In the same year the Jesuits resolved to take their share in this good work, and decided that in future they would pay the board at the Seminary of one boy, but 'each only for the period of a year, so that they might be able to extend the charity to several.'

The Superior of the Jesuits wrote in the *Relation* of 1658: 'The college, to tell the truth, is not as numerously attended as that of Paris . . . but nevertheless, small as it is, the scholars were able to address him [Governor d'Argenson] in three languages, which pleased him greatly.' In 1664 Bishop Laval wrote to the Holy See that the classes in the humanities at the Quebec college were flourishing, and that the children received the same education there as was given in France.

It was probably about this time that the theological course,

opened by the Jesuit Fathers, it seems, at the request of the Bishop of Pétrée himself, was inaugurated. The first students in this subject were Germain Morin, Charles Amador Martin, Pierre de Francheville, Pierre Paul Gagnon, Louis Jolliet and Louis Soumande.

Marie de l'Incarnation referred probably to these students when she wrote to Father Poncet in 1667 : ' You would see those whom you knew as small children, just beginning to learn their letters, now wearing the *soutane* and studying philosophy. Your college is flourishing.'

The opening of the Little Seminary of Quebec in October 1668 did no harm to the boarding establishment of the Jesuits, which continued to exist, though the contrary has been affirmed. The pupils of the Seminary attended classes at the Jesuit college.

In 1676 there were six professors at the college, three only of whom held endowed chairs, the others being paid out of the funds of the institution. The Jesuits did not wish to draw from the mission fund for the expenses of their educational work, and applied to the court to obtain the establishment of additional chairs for their professors, and in 1687 the king granted 400 livres to pay the salary of a new regent.

By the end of the seventeenth century the Quebec college had established its reputation. During sixty years it had not only held its ground, but had also grown and prospered. We need not therefore be surprised that Father Germain, the superior, could write in 1711 :

> As regards the college of Quebec, everything, there, is, or is done, just as in our European colleges, and perhaps with more exactness and regularity, and with better results than in several of our French colleges. There are classes in grammar, the humanities, rhetoric, mathematics, philosophy and theology. . . . The students, though not so numerous as in the large cities of Europe, are nevertheless well constituted in body and mind, decidedly industrious, very docile, and capable of making great progress both in the study of letters and in virtue. I am not speaking of the children of the native Indians, but of the children of French people born in Canada, and who speak and dress and pursue the same studies as

> in Paris. I affirm that they have marked intellectual ability, good natural dispositions and are capable of succeeding in any branch of study that we are able to teach them.

The classical course of the college did not change in the eighteenth century ; the Jesuits merely undertook in addition a class in hydrography, and applied themselves to perfecting the class work and completing their staff of professors. The governor and the intendant wrote to the minister in 1732 to ask him to provide for the subsistence of a third regent for the lower classes, and pressed the matter again in the following year. In the course of a letter of some length they wrote :

> Of the three regents at the college one lectures alternately on philosophy and theology, so that the lads, when they finish their humanities, finding the theology school open, are obliged to wait two years for the new course of philosophy, which discourages them to such an extent that they throw up their studies altogether and take to something else.
>
> The two regents of the lower classes should be able to regulate the number of their lessons according to the greater or less capacity of their pupils, who ought to be divided into three or four classes : as it is, they form two classes only, as a larger number cannot be provided for.

If the king would allow four hundred francs for the regent in philosophy, they added, the Jesuits would appoint a third regent for the lower classes. The king gave nothing, but the Jesuits managed to appoint the third regent required. Some years later Monseigneur de Pontbriand asked for new professors to teach the elements. It is not known whether the court granted his request.

During the last years of the French régime, in spite of war and famine, the Jesuits continued to hold their classes, which, however, they had to close in the summer of 1759, perhaps earlier. During the siege the professors of the college took refuge, for the most part, at Lorette. In 1761 General Murray allowed them to return to the capital.

The capitulation of Montreal left to the Jesuits little hope of being able to continue their work in Canada, and their

college, which, for over one hundred and twenty-five years, had been rendering such excellent service to the colony, was destined soon to close its doors. Father Glapion, the superior, made a last appeal to the English government to avert this extremity. But no reply was sent to the petition that he addressed in 1766 to the minister for the Colonies, Lord Shelburne. The Jesuits, not being allowed to recruit their ranks, had nothing to look forward to but the suppression of their order in Canada at no distant day. Father Glapion had consequently, in 1768, to give up the classes in literature, and kept only the elementary school, which was itself abandoned in 1776 for want of professors.

There were at the Jesuit college both boarders and day pupils, but the documents to which we have had access do not enable us to give the precise numbers. In 1650 sixteen students were following the classes in grammar and mathematics. In 1663 the college had about a score of boarders; it had the same number in 1733. Day scholars are not taken into account, but Bishop Laval makes the statement that in 1664 several were attending the classes of the Jesuits. In 1669 the intendant, Talon, wrote: 'The Jesuits here are instructing from fifty to sixty boarders and as many day scholars and Hurons.'

In 1675 thirty-two and in the following year thirty-three of the pupils of the Quebec Seminary attended classes in the Jesuit college. We may reckon that, on an average, during the last years of the seventeenth century the total number of students, including day scholars and boarders, was from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty. La Hontan, it is true, wrote in 1705 that 'the Jesuit college was a sadly forsaken nursery,' but we know what the testimony of the famous baron is worth when ecclesiastics are in question.

In his letter of 1711 Father Germain writes that 'the pupils of the Quebec college are fewer in number than in the colleges of the large cities of Europe.' It would have been surprising had it been otherwise. Let us merely remark that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Seminary alone sent to the college an average of from fifty-three to sixty

students annually. This number diminished towards 1720, but increased again to thirty or forty later. To sum up, we may say, in spite of statements to the contrary, that the number of students, time and circumstances considered, was satisfactory.

The students of the Quebec college naturally wore the same garb and conformed to the same rules as the students of the Jesuit colleges of Europe. It is probable that, making allowance for certain deviations rendered necessary by the climate or local circumstances, the rule followed was that of the college of La Flèche. The staff included the rector or superior, the father-principal acting as director of the pupils, the prefect-general of the classes, the overseers, the ordinary professors and tutors. Among the superiors, Fathers le Jeune, Vimont, Ragueneau, Le Mercier and de Quen deserve special mention. It was under their direction that the college was founded, that the study of Latin was begun, and that the classical course was formed and completed. Several of them had been at first school teachers, or had become such on their return from missions. The same may be said of Fathers Dablon, Beschefer, Bruyas and Bouvart, who only had to continue and perfect the work of their predecessors. Fathers Vincent Bigot, Germain, Julien Garnier, Lachasse, etc., also discharged the same honourable but occasionally difficult function. The duty of the father-prefect was to see to the carrying out of the programme of studies, to preside at examinations, to judge of the capacity of the students, etc. Among the prefects whose names have fallen under our notice are Fathers le Mercier, Beschefer, Crépieul, Lagrénée, Canot, Messaiger and Le Bansais.

In general the faculty of the college consisted of students in theology, young fathers and retired missionaries. The last were the exceptions, however, though sometimes the desire to be useful impelled them to resume teaching. In any case, we may apply to all these professors, young and old, what Bishop Saint-Vallier said of those of 1688 : 'The regents of the college are well chosen, being extremely able and zealous ; they bring the spirit of grace to the fulfilment of their duties.'

Course of Instruction in the Jesuit College

Father Rochemonteix writes that 'the college of Quebec was a complete reproduction on a small scale of the colleges of France.' Bishop Laval in 1664 and Father Germain in 1711 had said much the same thing. We shall try to prove the truth of this assertion as regards the course in literature. A number of volumes, works of the Jesuit college, on the shelves of the library of Laval University, have helped not a little to render this task possible, if not easy.

The Jesuits were considered in the seventeenth century as the best educators of the time. 'So far as the instruction of youth is concerned,' declared the philosopher Bacon in 1605, 'there is only one word to say: Consult the Jesuit teachers, for they cannot be surpassed'; and Descartes asserted that, if there were learned men on the earth, it was in the college of La Flèche that you might expect to find them.

The method that had then rendered the Jesuits so celebrated as educators is still in existence. It is to be found in the *Ratio Studiorum* and the *Constitutions*, to which was subsequently added the *De Ratione discendi et docendi* of Father Jouvency. A comparison of the syllabus followed at Quebec with that of La Flèche shows clearly that this method was adopted almost in its entirety by the Jesuits of Canada.

At La Flèche the literature course was divided into five classes: three for grammar, one for the humanities, and one for rhetoric. Until the middle of the seventeenth century the lectures were delivered in Latin. The classes were divided into two camps, in order to excite the emulation of the students, who elected decurions, tribunes, prætors, senators, an emperor, etc. All these rules and customs appear to have existed at Quebec: division of the course into five classes, division of the classes into camps, decuries, etc., notes taken in Latin, etc. The Quebec Seminary, which took over the classical course after the Conquest and certainly continued the methods of the Jesuits, only abandoned

the taking of notes in Latin and the appellations above mentioned towards the middle of the nineteenth century. The Latin grammar in use in the colleges of France was that of Despautère. This manual was in great honour in the Quebec college ; there are still several copies of it in the library of Laval University, containing such well-known names as Decouagne, Chartier de Lotbinière, Louis Lachenaye and Jacques de Ligneris. For the beginners there were books of a more elementary character ; for example, *An Easy Method for Declining and Conjugating*, by Meslier, and *The Rudiments of the Latin Language*, by Father Codret.

When the pupils were sufficiently acquainted with the nouns, adjectives and verbs, they could proceed to translation. Cicero was the author preferred above all others ; in the different classes they translated one or other of his principal works—his *Familiar Letters*, *Letters to Atticus and Quintus*, the *Paradoxes*, the *De Officiis*, the *De Eloquentia*, etc. Virgil, Seneca, Ovid, Quintus Curtius, and Cornelius Nepos were also studied. Among the books of the college are a number of copies of these works, several of which have written in them well-known names, such as Duplessis, Duburon, Lacorne and Charles Claude de Berrey, who later became a Récollet. These editions are not all annotated like those of to-day, but the professors possessed very complete commentaries from which they could draw all the explanations needed by their pupils. In the Quebec college, as in those of Europe, Latin verse was obligatory ; the study of it was begun in the fourth class.

From the higher grammar class the student passed into the class of the humanities ; and here he began to study composition. The manuals of literature in use at Quebec, as at La Flèche, were successively the *Precepts of Suarès*, the *Candidatus Rhetoricæ* of Father Pomey and the *Rhetoric* of Father Jouvency. This last was used at Quebec in the first half of the eighteenth century. All these works embraced the *Precepts* for the humanities and for rhetoric.

The professors of literature generally derived the exercises in composition that they gave their pupils, about the year 1730 at least, from the *Bibliotheca Rhetorum* of Father Lejay,

an excellent collection containing models for every species of composition in prose and verse. Another manual that should be mentioned is that of Durand: its title is, *A New Manual for Learning the Latin Language, Rhetoric, Poetry, and all that is included in the Humanities course, without having recourse to any other books*, by Monsieur Durand, 1710. The work itself does not seem to us to fulfil the promises of its title; it is written half in French and half in Latin, but it is not very lucid and is somewhat difficult. If this manual were an advance on some former ones, it must be confessed that it was itself open to considerable improvement. The discovery of some Greek manuals and dictionaries has removed the doubt as to whether Greek was taught at the Quebec Seminary.

Down to the middle of the seventeenth century the course was almost exclusively Latin, at least in Europe, but, following the example of Port-Royal, the Jesuits gave a larger place to French in the classical course. Then began to appear the grammars of Chifflet and of Buffier; and the new editions of Despautère were published half in French and half in Latin. So it was with the Greek grammars. It is certain that the Jesuits of Quebec taught French to their pupils in a satisfactory manner. The numerous writings we possess by former students of the college exhibit, for the most part, not only good spelling, but also a sufficiently thorough knowledge of the principles of syntax, and sometimes a mode of expression that reveals more than ordinary culture and skill in the use of language. They are just as good as, if not better than, many of those by the students of the colleges of France. Doubtless we shall find in these writings occasional faults both in spelling and grammar, but it must be remembered that the language of that day was not altogether the same as that spoken and written to-day. Several of these students took such pains with their handwriting that few to-day, except specialists, could surpass them in penmanship.

The information we possess regarding the teaching of history and geography is not sufficient to enable us to speak positively on that subject; it has been proved, however,

that these branches of study were taught in France, and particularly at the college of La Flèche.

The science course at La Flèche lasted three years, but at Quebec apparently only two. Physics and mathematics were taught in French, philosophy in Latin, the authorities followed in philosophy being Aristotle and St Thomas Aquinas. The manuals most in use were those of Aristotle, Plato, Father de St Joseph, Purchotti, and Channevelle.

The students took notes also or made abstracts of the author studied. We have discovered a set of notes bearing date 1679 that had belonged to Denis Peuvret de Mesnu. The professor of philosophy at the college at the time was Father Bouvart. This compendium must have had a certain value, since we find it in the hands of Pierre Petit in 1743 and P. L. Bédard in 1745, and other students at the end of the French régime. A glance at these notes suffices to show that methods have not greatly changed since that time. Aristotle and St Thomas Aquinas form the basis of the teaching; the rules and examples are still to be found in most of the manuals of philosophy.

Besides the lesson in philosophy there was daily private tuition. The exercises that took place at the end of the week, like the *Sabbatine*, and the one at the end of the month, were private; but, before concluding the year, there was a general and public session in which there were addresses, discussions, etc., reviewing the work of the first year or of both years of the philosophic course, according to circumstances.

In the archives of Laval University there are preserved a certain number of theses composed by the students of the colleges of France. Among these documents are found the theses in physics maintained at the college of La Flèche by a person named Périneau, of Montreal, and also the theses in logic of Pierre Ménard at the college of Quebec, probably in 1759. These correspond exactly as to matter and form with the course delivered at Quebec by Father J. B. de la Brosse in 1757, as may easily be seen from a manual compiled by André Couillard, a pupil of Father de la Brosse. These public disputations at the end of the year had been inaugurated at the college of Quebec a little after the middle

of the seventeenth century. The first took place on July 2, 1666, and Father le Mercier, superior, wrote in the Journal on that date: 'The first disputations in philosophy are being held in the congregation with success. All the authorities of the colony are attending. The intendant, among others, argued very well. M. Jolliet and Pierre de Francheville made a very good reply covering the whole field of logic.'

On October 4 of the same year Father Beschefer wrote from Quebec: 'We have a class in philosophy and seven scholars who have defended theses. You must allow that Quebec is taking a good position.' In the following year, as we learn from the *Journal of the Jesuits*, Pierre de Francheville and Charles Amador Martin 'defended theses embracing the whole of philosophy with honour and in good company.' These students were Canadians by birth, and their success, honourable as it was to themselves, was not less so to their professors.

In the seventeenth century physics was considered as a part of philosophy, and at La Flèche the same professor certainly taught both subjects; it was the same probably at Quebec. We have found nothing to throw light on the teaching of the physical or natural sciences at the Quebec college. We are convinced nevertheless that they formed part of the course, since that course, as we have repeatedly said, was in all respects similar to that given in France.

Like other well-organized educational establishments, the college had its literary and dramatic entertainments. This was customary in France, and we find Father Jouvency writing: 'If a new governor or a bishop arrives in the town, or if news is received of a victory, of the signing of peace, of the canonization of a saint, of the recovery from illness of a prince, or if the obsequies of a hero are being celebrated, immediately songs of joy or strains of lamentation resound through our schools.' This practice was equally observed at Quebec.

On the arrival of the governors, de Lauzon in 1651 and d'Argenson in 1658, they were formally received at the college; the first, as already mentioned, with a Latin oration and French verses, the second by the rendering of a little drama

entitled *Reception of the Vicomte d'Argenson by all the Nations of Canada*, etc. The pupils also performed a short play to celebrate the arrival of Monseigneur de Laval in 1659, and the Journal assures us that 'everything went off well.'

Comedies and tragedies were represented at the college until towards the end of the seventeenth century, when Bishop Saint-Vallier forbade all literary or dramatic entertainments there, probably owing to trouble over the play *Tartuffe*, which Frontenac had intended to have represented at Quebec in 1694. The Jesuits obeyed, and there were no more literary or dramatic entertainments, even at the distribution of prizes.

At that time the prizes were handsome and good, but not numerous. There were hardly any except for the subjects called 'principal': catechism, Latin translation and Latin exercise, Greek translation and Greek exercise, Latin verse and the oration. There were no prizes for general excellence, geography, history, mathematics, French oration, etc.; nor was there one for philosophy. Such was the rule in France, and it was followed in Canada.

The prizes, commonly Latin classics of large *format* and richly bound, were given by some high and powerful benefactor. We have discovered in the archives of Laval University a certain number of those prizes given to some of the oldest students of the Quebec Seminary. They are of different dates, but are all marked *in publica præmiorum distributione.*

At the distribution of prizes for 1670-71 at the Quebec college the following books were given to five of the scholars: in rhetoric to Louis Soumande, *Commentary on the Æneid*; to Jean Pinguet, the same work; to Claude Volant, *Commentary on the Third Volume of the Orations of Cicero.* In the higher grammar class Paul Vachon also received the volume last mentioned. In the lower class Noël Gagnon received *St Louis or the Christian Hero.* All these volumes are bound in full leather, with gilt edges, and bear on the covers the arms of Talon, which implies that the intendant was the generous donor.

In 1679 a *Commentary on Horace* was given as a prize for translation to Jean François Buisson, a student in rhetoric,

and the works of Livy, Florus and Polybius to Jacques Duchesneau, son of the intendant, a student of the third class. These two volumes bear on the cover the arms of Duchesneau.

The Jesuits had established a Congregation of the Blessed Virgin for the students in 1664, and Father Germain said in his letter of 1711 : ' All the congregationists have a veritable devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and honour her so affectionately in her chapels that they regard it as a great disgrace to be excluded from it.'

Thus it may be asserted that in the college of Quebec there was no wide departure from the rules and methods followed in the colleges of France. In any case the Jesuits here, while seeking to form devoted priests and missionaries, sought also to produce enlightened citizens, capable of rendering useful service to the country and of setting a good example to others ; this work, accomplished with zeal and devotion, suffices for the glory of the college of Quebec.

Technical Education, Mathematics and Hydrography

We have to go back to the seventeenth century to discover the origin of the idea of special education among the French people. Richelieu wrote in his *Testament Politique* :

> A knowledge of letters is certainly necessary to a republic, but it is equally certain that they ought not to be taught to all. Just as a body with eyes all over it would be a monstrosity, so would a state be if all its subjects were learned. The business of letters would completely banish that of commerce, to which states owe their wealth, and ruin agriculture, on which the people depend for their food. That is why in a well-regulated state more masters in the mechanic arts are needed than masters in the liberal arts as teachers of *belles lettres*.

Although the official recognition of special education does not date very far back in France, still it existed in practice in the colleges and universities. Thus certain studies that are specialized to-day, as mechanics, navigation, hydrography, etc., then formed part of the mathematical course.

New France was not slow to follow the example of the mother country. Men like the Jesuits, the intendant Talon, and Bishop Laval were quite able to understand that all were not fitted to pursue a classical course, and that special instruction of a practical nature would be useful, not to say necessary; and, thanks to their initiative and enlightened views, there were at an early date in Canada schools of mathematics, hydrography, arts and trades.

In the colleges of France the course in mathematics was very extensive and lasted through the whole third year of philosophy. We do not know how the subject was apportioned at Quebec; but we may state with certainty that, from the earliest times of the college, there was a professor of mathematics. Occasionally a lay professor was employed for this class, as witness Martin Boutet, who taught that science at the college of Quebec for several years. Boutet was a surveyor, and was able in that capacity to render important services. In 1671 Talon assigned to him the duty of giving special lessons to the youth of the country. In the same year Talon wrote as follows on this subject:

> The young men are taking eagerly to the schools for the teaching of sciences, arts and trades and especially navigation, so that, with a little encouragement in that direction, there is reason to hope that this country will become a nursery for navigators, fishermen, sailors and mechanics, all having natural dispositions for these several employments. Le sieur Saint-Martin (who is with the Jesuit Fathers in the capacity of *frère donné*, and who is well versed in mathematics) has consented, at my request, to act as teacher.

The intendant evidently aimed at nothing less than a marine institute. The young fellows who left the school 'would be put on board vessels that they might get accustomed to the sea, and by practice become good pilots fit for all voyages of discovery.' Saint-Martin set to work, delivered lectures, trained pilots, bestowed certificates in surveying and himself performed surveys. Father Enjalran wrote in 1676 that the secular professor of the college had instructed most of the sea captains in the country. It is not improbable

that Jolliet, a later professor, was one of the pupils of Saint-Martin. In 1686, some years after the death of Boutet, Governor Denonville requested the court to appoint another professor of mathematics, and in the same year J. B. Franquelin was chosen as 'instructor in hydrography at Quebec.' His salary was four hundred livres a year, but he had to furnish quarters for his classes.

The appointment was an excellent one. Having lived in the country since 1672, Franquelin knew its geography well, and had already drawn several important maps, a line of work that he continued to pursue after his appointment, giving so much time to it that the governor and the intendant wrote to the minister to say that, if Franquelin was to be employed on map-making, it would be better to transfer the class in hydrography to the Jesuit Fathers. The court did not comply with this request, and Franquelin remained in charge of the hydrography school till 1697.

During that time the Jesuits gave regular lessons in mathematics, either in the college at Quebec or in the residence at Montreal. Sometimes recourse was had to them for teachers of mathematics. Thus in 1694 Father Silvy was chosen to accompany an expedition to Hudson Bay, in order that the officers and sailors might occupy their spare time on board ship in taking lessons in this important branch of education.

In 1694 also Father de la Chauchetière, superior at the Montreal residence, wrote : 'I have some bearded students to whom I am teaching navigation, fortification and other branches of mathematics. One of my students is pilot on a vessel sailing north.' He had said some time before, on August 7 : 'I have two or three pupils on the ships, and I have one who is under-pilot on one of the king's vessels.'

Franquelin having returned to France, Louis Jolliet was chosen, on April 30, 1697, to replace him. He had long been desirous of getting the position. Denonville had requested the minister to give it to him as far back as the year 1685, and we see by a letter of 1696, with marginal notes, that 'the Sieur Jolliet begs [the king] to give him the position of hydrographer at Quebec lately held by the Sieur Franquelin.'

Jolliet's professorship only lasted three years, from 1697

to 1700. In 1701 Franquelin was again appointed to the post, but he did not come to Canada. The governor then suggested to the minister to let his salary go to the Jesuits who had taught hydrography in his place, and to entrust them with the teaching of that subject for the future. The minister refused, and Deshayes was appointed hydrographer of the king at Quebec. Finally, after the death of Deshayes in 1707, the course in hydrography passed definitely into the hands of the Jesuits, who had all the necessary qualifications for carrying it on efficiently.

The first Jesuit professors of hydrography were probably Fathers Silvy and La Chauchetière. After them came Father le Brun, who taught until 1721, when he was replaced by Father Lauzon. Father Lauzon was followed by Father Guignas, who taught down to the year 1727. The salary allowed at this time was eight hundred livres a year. Father Deslandes, who succeeded Father Guignas, held the post for five years, from 1727 to 1732. Replaced in 1733 by Father Allioux, he resumed his course in 1735, and in 1736 handed it over to Father Messaiger, who held it till 1741. Father Guignas took it again for a time, until, in the spring of 1743, Father Bonnécamp was specially sent from France to Quebec to take charge of that class. Father Charlevoix was influential in securing this excellent appointment.

The new professor soon perceived that the college was not possessed of the instruments necessary for his teaching and for the studies of his pupils. He applied to Hocquart, who wrote to the court begging it to send these instruments, observing that it would be easy to install on the roof of the college an observatory that would be very useful and cost only a thousand or twelve hundred francs. The instruments asked for did not arrive, and in 1748 Bigot took up the matter with the minister, who finally, at the end of the year 1749, decided to send a clock marking seconds, a telescope, a quadrant, etc.

Father de Bonnécamp had left shortly before this in the capacity of mathematical expert to a party under Céloron, sent by Comte de la Galissonière, the administrator of New France, to take possession of the valley of the Ohio. On his

return to Quebec the father found the instruments awaiting him, and contented himself with remarking that, for want of a quadrant, his observations lacked precision.

In 1757 Father de Bonnécamp applied for leave of absence and went to France, whence he returned in 1758. In the interval Pellegrin took his place. After another year of professional work Father de Bonnécamp finally left Canada. He taught mathematics at Caen for some years, and, after the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, retired to the château of Trongoly, where he died on May 28, 1797.

The preceding remarks show that the French government took an interest in this school of mathematics and hydrography, in which a considerable number of pilots and ship-captains, explorers, surveyors, and perhaps engineers were destined to be trained. Talon, as usual, had judged rightly, and the Jesuits showed themselves equal to the charge entrusted to them. Long before Talon had thought of his marine academy, they were already teaching mathematics and perhaps hydrography. We are thus once more enabled to see that Father Germain was quite justified when he wrote in 1711 : 'As regards the college of Quebec, it is just like our college in Europe both in what it is and in what it does.'

Schools of Arts and Trades

The schools of arts and trades were not numerous in Canada under the French régime, but they were very useful to the country. The most celebrated was, beyond doubt, the one at St Joachim founded by Laval. The beginnings of this school are involved in some obscurity ; it existed nevertheless in the earliest days of the Quebec Seminary. In the manuscript history of that institution we read : 'At the same time that Mgr de Laval opened at Quebec the Little Seminary destined for the recruiting of the clergy, he established at the foot of Cap Tourmente a kind of model farm, where young fellows who did not seem to be fitted for classical studies learned to read, write and cipher, while applying themselves also to farm labour and

different mechanical trades.' Here we have clearly indicated the object of this foundation, and, if the school was founded in 1668, we understand how Talon was able to write in 1671 that 'the young men are betaking themselves to arts and trades.'

Before this date, however, Bishop Laval possessed two considerable farms at Cap Tourmente—the upper farm, called to-day the large farm, and the lower or small farm. The house built on the large farm was spacious, had two stories, and could lodge comfortably a good number of children. The bishop had here found an excellent means of helping young people whose tastes and inclinations did not draw them towards the ecclesiastical state. With the practical sense that characterized him, he tried to get the best results possible from his idea, and there were in succession, or simultaneously, at St Joachim an elementary school, a Latin school, a model farm and an establishment for arts and trades.

The historians Charlevoix and Latour agree in recognizing in the Canadian children a special aptitude for manual occupation. 'No one,' says the former, 'can deny them a rare talent for mechanics; they hardly need any teaching in order to excel in them, and every day you find some who succeed in mechanical trades without having served any apprenticeship.' Latour, after enumerating the causes that disinclined the children to study, observes: 'They succeed much better in manual work; the practical arts are carried to great perfection amongst them, and in every trade you find very good workmen.'

Laval was anxious to encourage these fortunate inclinations, and he founded two schools for arts and trades, one at the Quebec Seminary, the other at St Joachim. The annals of the Little Seminary have preserved to us the names of several pupils who learned there one or two of the most useful trades. J. B. Ménard left the Seminary in 1678 after having learned the trade of cabinet-maker, and Jean Gagnon and Charles L. Normand after having learned, respectively, carpentering and roofing. At the Seminary the most useful trades were taught—cabinet-making, carpentering, roofing,

masonry, shoemaking, tailoring and the like. The fathers also taught fine arts, notably sculpture. We get this information from La Potherie, who speaks of the chapel 'made by the Seminarists, who have spared no pains to make a perfect work of it,' the value put on it being ten thousand *écus*. This work of art was not the only one on which the pupils of the Seminary laboured, but it serves to prove the success with which they applied themselves to work of the kind.

We know besides that the old rules applicable to the pupils required that 'all were to have some trade to occupy their time when they were not engaged in study,' in order that they might be able to render themselves useful to the Seminary and to the churches. Two or three times over in these regulations mention is made of pupils who did not study, but who learned trades; that is to say, who were not going through a classical course; and this is sufficient to show that at Quebec there was a school of arts and trades before the end of the seventeenth century.

The school of St Joachim, we have already stated, began about the time of the foundation of the Seminary. It was carried on alongside, and served as a complement to, the primary school. Thus in 1685 there were at Cap Tourmente thirty-one pupils, nineteen of whom were engaged in study, the rest being occupied in trades.

Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier, who has preserved this detail for us, was so enchanted by what he had seen in this establishment that he resolved to transform it into a classical college. Not having the pecuniary means for accomplishing this project, he requested help of Denonville, who promised to assign to this work the proceeds of four trading licences, that is to say, four thousand livres. The governor did not stop there. On November 13, 1685, he wrote to the minister, and, after having spoken of the schoolhouse at Cap Tourmente, added: 'In the other house they place those who are only fitted to be artisans, and to them trades are taught. It seems to me that this constitutes an admirable means of commencing the establishment of manufactures which are absolutely needed for the relief of the country.'

To this letter the governor appears to have joined a memorandum entitled 'Plan for the creation of manufactures,' prepared, it is believed, by the intendant, de Meulles. The author, after having said that in order to have manufactures it was necessary to have land and buildings, continues: 'There are suitable places for the purpose, namely, one in the parish of St Joachim, which would do for the boys' school, and another in the Upper Town of Quebec, which would do for the girls. It only remains to provide the necessary buildings and furnish them.' A proposal followed to add to the building already at St Joachim an extension of one hundred feet, two stories high, etc., with projecting stones to provide for the construction of three additional wings of the same size. It would be possible, adds the memorandum, to establish there 'manufactures of linen and serge, and to have carders and spinners of wool, hatters, shoemakers, etc.'; and states moreover that

> trades will be established at that place in order that they may be taught to the children of the country; and at the present moment cabinet-making, sculpture, painting, gilding for the ornamentation of churches, mason-work and carpentering are being taught. There are moreover tailors, shoemakers, toolmakers, locksmiths, roofers, who teach their respective trades to the children of the country; but further development in that line is impossible through lack of lodging accommodation; but erect additional buildings and the work will go on apace.

The author concludes: 'It is not necessary to send out any master workmen [for the teaching of these trades], but ordinary workmen to erect the buildings.'

Where could better proof be found of the interest that the civil authorities took in the Canadian youth?

Unhappily these fine projects do not seem to have resulted in anything, so far at least as manufactures were concerned. As to the classical college, it was, in fact, begun in the autumn of 1685, but, for lack of resources, Governor de Denonville not having been able to furnish the promised sum, it had to close its doors in the following year.

The future Bishop of Quebec had perhaps been in too

great a hurry to create this foundation, to which Bishop Laval and the Seminary of Quebec appear to have been less favourable. The Jesuit college and the Seminary of Quebec were really quite sufficient, in the region of Quebec at least, for the needs of the population.

The disappearance of the college of St Joachim did not involve that of the school of arts and trades, which, restored to its original design, acquired a new vigour. On his return from France in 1688 Laval took an active interest in it. He began ' by assembling a good many youths, mostly from the country, to engage them, as before, in employments for which they showed a special aptitude.' To assure the existence of the school, he founded in 1693 the six bursaries mentioned above, for the benefit of young lads who ' should be instructed in good conduct and piety and in reading and writing, or trained to work in some of the mechanical trades carried on there.'

The Abbé Soumande himself, in founding his three bursaries, had in view the double object of assisting the elementary school and of promoting the establishment of arts and trades, which are, he said in the contract, extremely useful to the children of the country ' both by reason of the instruction and education they receive and through the different kinds of work or trades that they are taught.'

Modifications afterwards introduced caused this school of arts and trades to lose something of its proper character, for it seems after 1705 to have been rather a school of agriculture. In any case, there were at St Joachim at that date six boys who were called *mitoyens* (intermediates), and who were learning reading and writing and, after their hours of study, the labours of the farm. The procurator of the Seminary of that time, the Abbé Buisson, was not very favourable to these *mitoyens*, but it was necessary, he said, to keep them, and to wait till they were fit to render service.

From what has been said above, it is certain that masters able to teach trades to children were not lacking at Cap Tourmente. It was the same in regard to the arts, particularly stone-carving, and perhaps also painting.

The Seminary had for several years two or three sculptors

in its service. Among others may be mentioned Michel Fauchois, Samuel Genner, Mallet, and Jacques Le Blond de la Tour. The last mentioned, an architect, also a painter at odd times, was, above all things, a remarkable sculptor. For several years he was at the head of the workshop of wood-carving either at Quebec or at St Joachim, from 1690 to 1696 as a layman, and from 1698 to 1706 as an ecclesiastic. Many of his pupils became able wood-carvers. It is certain that he worked on the Seminary chapel, built between 1691 and 1695, which was considered a marvel, and on the church of St Joachim erected about the same time. Bédard, who had seen specimens of Le Blond's work, wrote in 1686 : ' He was an excellent sculptor who trained pupils who shared with him the honour of the priesthood as well as the art of handling the chisel. The altar-screens of Ste Anne, of Château-Richer and of L'Ange Gardien bear witness to their talent.'

Apart from work done upon churches, of which examples may still be seen at Ste Anne and L'Ange Gardien, Le Blond and his pupils executed other pieces of work such as candlesticks, statues, etc. The pretty little church of Ste Foy near Quebec possesses a beautiful statue of the Virgin with the infant Jesus sculptured in 1716 by the Abbé Pierre le Prévost, former student of the Seminary, and later head of the establishment at Cap Tourmente.

It is probable that both the art and the trade of painting were taught at St Joachim. We know that Le Blond was a painter : he was able therefore to give lessons to his pupils. However that may be, if the art of painting was really taught at St Joachim, we are not aware of any masterpieces that originated there. In certain churches and in the old communities there may still be found paintings of this period, but they are mere daubs and cannot be supposed to have come from France. No one would think of attributing them to Brother Luc, the Récollet, who was considered a good painter, or yet to the Abbé Le Blond. A final supposition is that they were the work of the pupils at Cap Tourmente, with whom we may associate a good missionary priest, the Abbé Hugues Pommier, who prided himself, though with little reason, on his painting. It is best, however, not to

indulge in suppositions at all, but to leave these canvases in the anonymity in which they are enwrapped.

At Montreal, as early as 1693, the Charon Brothers had planned to establish manufactures in their house and to teach trades to the children they were instructing. Champigny even proposed to the minister to open a brickyard there. In the following year the king allowed the founder to receive into his hospital 'poor orphan children and to teach them trades and give them the best education that circumstances permitted.' New letters patent in 1699 authorized the brothers to establish in their house and on their premises 'manufactures connected with arts and trades.' The governor and the intendant were good enough to interest themselves with the minister on behalf of the brothers, and asked for an additional sum of one thousand livres to help them to establish the manufactures that they were anxious to set on foot.

From this evidence it must be inferred that special education existed in Canada in the seventeenth century. These schools of mathematics, of hydrography, of arts and trades, as well as the model farm at St Joachim, were very useful to the country, not only because the boys were there taught a science, an art, or a trade that enabled them to earn an honest living, but further because they were brought up in a Christian manner, and left the school, knowing how to read, write and cipher no doubt, but, what is of more value still, fit to be useful to their fellow-citizens and to serve as examples to them. These institutions did not reach perfection, but they met the most pressing needs of the time. They also supply evidence as to the good understanding that existed between the civil and the religious authorities.

The Latin Schools

During the whole period of the French domination there was only one complete classical course, that of the Jesuits at Quebec; and that was enough for the population. Still, as the course of study was a long one, as the distances were

considerable, and many colonists poor, an effort was made to remedy these disadvantages by founding here and there schools in which pupils, while being taught reading, writing and arithmetic, might learn also the rudiments of Latin. The clergy alone could open and maintain such schools, and they did so in a generous manner.

The first in order of time was that of the Jesuits, in which the classical course in Canada originated. The curé Philippe Boucher, of Point Levy, who had a good elementary school, taught Latin in it for several years. The Latin school founded in 1701 at St Joachim by the Abbé Soumande, and removed to Château-Richer soon afterwards, was reopened at St Joachim after the closing of the one at Château-Richer. Kalm wrote in 1749: 'Two priests reside at St Joachim, and with them a certain number of boys to whom they teach reading, writing and Latin.' He had previously said: 'There are schools at Quebec and St Joachim to prepare the young men of the country for holy orders. They there learn Latin and such sciences as are most closely related to their intended profession.' The Latin school at Château-Richer, opened in 1702, only lasted a few years; it was again removed to St Joachim.

It was especially in the town and region of Montreal that, on account of the distance of the Jesuit college, the need for a school of that character was felt. The Sulpicians opened one towards the end of the seventeenth century. It was well attended, if we judge by the number of students from the region of Montreal who entered the Quebec Seminary possessing already the beginnings of Latin, and by the classical books which the priests of St Sulpice procured at Quebec. For the most part Latin was taught at St Sulpice by the professors of the junior school—Ranuyer, Rémy, Forget, Talbot and Girard—clerks in minor orders or tonsured. Sometimes priests also were employed; for example, Chambon in 1733, Jean Claude Mathevet in 1747, Mathieu Guillon, etc.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Jesuits began to teach Latin at Montreal. In 1694 Father de la Chauchetière wrote that he had some good fifth class pupils.

But for lack of means the development of the school was slow. The inhabitants of Montreal therefore thought of applying to the government, and in 1727 they sent a long petition to the court asking for assistance. The preamble is as follows:

> The residents within the limits of the government of Montreal, military and civil officers, merchants and other citizens, deeply sensible of the ignorance and idleness of their children . . . have recourse to you, begging very humbly and earnestly that you will second their good intentions in obtaining for them such teachers as may be most capable of exercising a proper control over the young, and inspiring them with those sentiments of submission necessary to render them good servants of the king and, at the same time, good servants of God.

The Montrealers go on to express a desire that the Jesuit Fathers may take charge of the education of their children, etc. The governor, Charles de Beauharnois, transmitted this request to the court, stating that Dupuy was writing on the same subject. The intendant wrote, as a matter of fact, but in opposition to the project. The minister sided with him. 'I think with you,' he said, 'that there is no necessity to establish it [the proposed college at Montreal]. Moreover the conditions are not suitable, and we must not think of it for the present.'

Beauharnois contented himself for the moment with expressing surprise at the conduct of Dupuy; in 1733, however, he joined Hocquart in urging the matter again upon the minister, but without any greater success; and, in spite of the supplications of the civil authorities in 1736, the Jesuit residence remained what it had been since 1692, a simple Latin school.

In 1735 the Bishop of Quebec made an appeal to his curés in favour of the teaching of Latin. After having drawn attention to the fact that the spiritual welfare of the people depended on the clergy, and having deplored the scarcity of priests in Canada, Monseigneur Dosquet continues:

> It becomes a matter of necessity to increase their number by giving greater facilities to parents for getting their children to study, especially in the country. We see no

> more effectual means for the accomplishment of this object than to recommend you, our very dear brethren, to teach Latin and inculcate piety to those youths in your respective parishes in whom you may observe inclinations towards the ecclesiastical state, combined with aptitude for learning. When you have prepared them to enter the Seminary we shall contribute as far as our means may allow towards their support or the payment of their expenses.

This pastoral letter does honour to its author, and it seems to have had a good effect. The number of students at the Seminary, by no means great at that date, increased from year to year; and the same must have been the case at the Jesuit college. This does not imply that the country was able to furnish all the priests it required; but it must be remembered that conditions of climate, pecuniary means, etc., were not the same here as in France, and that many youths who entered the Seminary or the college, not feeling themselves called to the ecclesiastical life, left before they had completed their course. Apart from the priesthood there was nothing to attract boys to study. There were no lawyers; the physicians were for the most part French; and notaries did not need extensive study in order to obtain permission to practise their profession. Under these conditions it was hardly possible for the educational establishments to furnish a great number of priests to the colony or any large class of superior men.

The Little Seminary of Quebec

At the beginning of his episcopate Monseigneur de Laval, finding at Quebec a well-organized classical college, contented himself with sending to it, and providing for the maintenance of, a certain number of pupils intended for the priesthood. This condition of things would perhaps have lasted longer if Colbert and Talon, who had taken up the idea of imparting French civilization to the Indians, had not begged Monseigneur de Laval to take part in that good work himself. To arrive at any practical result it was necessary that the Indians should have frequent intercourse with the

French ; Bishop Laval did not hesitate, and the Little Seminary of Quebec was founded in 1668. At that time the little seminaries were simply nurseries in which boys destined for ecclesiastical life received a moral and religious training. They were also taught chanting and the ceremonies of the church ; but they received no classical education, for that could be obtained in other quarters. Such was the case with the Little Seminary of Quebec, which, during the whole period of French rule, sent its pupils for their regular education to the Jesuit college.

The Little Seminary was opened on October 9, 1668, with thirteen pupils—seven French and six Indians. Of the latter one only remained five years ; the others stayed but a short time. One more proof was thus afforded that the imparting of French culture to the Indians was a vain idea.

The first director of the Little Seminary was probably de Maizerets, who occupied that important and difficult post for several years. A student in theology or philosophy acted as his assistant and performed the duties of prefect. The Abbé Soumande, of whom we have already spoken, filled the latter post for a considerable time ; his successor was Mathieu d'Amours.

Pocquet was appointed director in 1695, and filled the office with success for a period of thirteen years. His assistant, the Abbé Ignace Hamel, replaced him in 1705. The directorate of Hamel was as long as it was remarkable. One of his brethren of the Seminary gave the following appreciation of him on the day of his death : 'Almost single-handed [for twenty-eight years] he sowed the seeds of knowledge and of piety in the minds of most of those who are to-day scattered throughout the colony in different occupations, and particularly of all the priests whom Canada has produced for over thirty years past. An unusual circumstance may be mentioned : he was always loved by his pupils.' After Abbé Hamel we may name as directors of the Little Seminary Valois, Vallier, Corru, Frizon de Lamothe, Pressart and Lamicq. If all had not the talent of Hamel for direction, they all had his zeal and devotion.

At the opening of the Little Seminary the pupils num-

bered only thirteen; in 1675-76 the number had risen to thirty-two. At first Bishop Laval installed his school in a small house that he had bought from Madame Couillard. In 1675 it had become necessary to provide more commodious quarters for them, and 'the Little Seminary of the new building' was constructed. It was consecrated on December 7, 1677, and was occupied by the scholars on the following day.

In 1680 the founder gave all that he possessed to the Seminary, and established at the same time eight scholarships for the benefit of poor boys. These benefactions came at the right moment; the Little Seminary had then forty pupils, and the expenses were very great. In 1685 Saint-Vallier talked of raising the number to sixty or seventy, but the superiors of the Paris Seminary, of which the Quebec one was a dependency, objected to so rapid an augmentation.

The siege of Quebec by Phips in 1690 furnished an opportunity to the pupils both of Quebec and of St Joachim to prove their valour. They took arms, fought bravely, and one of their comrades, Pierre Maufils, died as the result of a wound he had received at La Canardière.

Since its foundation the Little Seminary had advanced with considerable rapidity. As the number of pupils was steadily increasing, it had become necessary to enlarge the building and erect a chapel. All these operations, which had lasted six or seven years, were brought to an end in 1699. God had blessed the work of Bishop Laval, and the pious prelate, as it seemed, was about to enjoy the fruit of his labours and sacrifices. But institutions, like men, must have their reverses, and the hour of severe trials for the Seminary of Quebec and its revered founder was about to strike.

On November 15, 1701, about a quarter-past one in the afternoon, according to a contemporary report, fire broke out in the Seminary 'with such violence that, in less than four or five hours, it consumed the work of more than thirty years.' The pupils were on that day taking a holiday at their country house of St Michel, near Sillery. They hastened to return on learning of the misfortune, but on their arrival everything had been destroyed. The loss in buildings alone was estimated

by the engineer Levasseur de Nérée at thirty thousand livres. It was a heavy disaster, and the grief of Bishop Laval and the troubles of the directors can be imagined. Still no one lost courage. Rebuilding was commenced immediately, and, in spite of the poverty of the Seminary, the work was sufficiently advanced in the autumn of 1702 to make it possible to lodge a hundred boys. The reconstruction was just about completed when on October 1, 1705, a new stroke of misfortune befell the Seminary. Again it was totally destroyed by fire. The scholars, who were then at St Joachim, were, with the exception of twelve, sent back to their parents.

Bishop Laval accepted this new trial with the resignation of a saint, and the directors with admirable courage. The Seminary, without the chapel, was rebuilt completely and in a short time. But extreme poverty was the inevitable result of two such calamities in so short a space of time. The ordinary resources of the institution were quite insufficient for the support of masters and pupils and the payment of debts. The court, to which application had been made on the occasion of the first fire, had not done anything. In 1718 Vaudreuil and Bégon again besought the Marine Council to come to the aid of the Seminary, and at least to grant it the four thousand livres it formerly received. In 1720 the petition was renewed, but again without success. An appeal by Bishop Saint-Vallier in 1725, and a petition from the leading citizens of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers in 1731, fared no better. Finally, thanks to the efficient administration of the Abbé Vallier, the director, and his successors, the condition of affairs improved and even became satisfactory.

The number of pupils enrolled varied with time and circumstances, and it is difficult to form any exact idea on the subject, because the annals are incomplete. Nevertheless we have found a list showing 843 pupils from 1668 to 1759, or an average of nine a year. On the day of the opening thirteen were registered ; in 1701-2 there were about one hundred, but in 1726 there were only twelve. Towards the end of the French régime the number of pupils was from fifty to sixty.

Out of the 843 registered, 198 only are indicated as having

completed their studies; among these, 3 later became bishops, 110 priests, 3 Récollets and 2 Jesuits; the remaining 80 embraced different callings or professions. It is not a matter of surprise that so few should have gone through the complete course of study; only those were kept at the Seminary who showed a disposition for the ecclesiastical life.

The first set of rules for the Little Seminary, preserved in the archives, dates from 1683 or thereabout. Apart from the common rules which embrace thirty-four articles, it contains the special regulations: the Customary, the Daily and the Order of Prayers. The very smallest details are provided for in all that relates to piety, moral training, studies, etc., and that equally for those who were following a classical course as for those who were practising trades. The order for the day—the *Journalier*—may be summarized as follows. At five o'clock, winter and summer, all rose; after dressing each made a short prayer, followed at a quarter-past five by prayer in common. Then came study, which lasted an hour and a quarter, after which, for a quarter of an hour, every one was free to attend to various small matters. At seven o'clock a breakfast of dry bread was served, and a few minutes before the half-hour all started together for the college. After the morning class, which lasted till nine, the boys went to the cathedral to hear mass. A writing lesson, study and prayers took up the time till dinner, at noon, which was followed by recreation for about half an hour. The afternoon was given to lessons and study; supper was at seven, after which came recreation and prayer until bedtime at nine o'clock.

The costume of the Seminary students was composed of a blue cloth tunic with a white piping on the seams. The braided sash of the early days was later replaced by the green sash still in use. For head-gear the pupils had a kind of cap called *tapabord*.

The charge for the board of a student was often governed by the means of his parents. Naturally it increased as time went on. Until the eighteenth century it appears to have been 100 livres a year, other expenses of maintenance not included. In 1701 the pupils who could do so gave 172 livres a year for their board and maintenance. A state-

ment of expenses for that year shows that there were at the Seminary 'eighty pupils, most of them poor, who give what they can ; thirty pay nothing.' Some years later the price of board was raised to 200 livres, then to 250. Numerous documents prove that there were always at the Seminary of Quebec a good many pupils who were fed, provided for, and instructed gratuitously.

The pupils ordinarily took their occasional holidays at St Michel, a property near Sillery bought by the Seminary in 1678, and their vacations at St Joachim, the students in theology and philosophy going to the large farm, and the rest of the pupils to the small one. The vacations lasted from August 15 to October 1 ; and the time was divided between religious exercises, a little study, work in the fields and amusements. The amusements, to which most of the time was given, included hunting, fishing, boating, excursions in the woods and fields, climbing up Cap Tourmente, etc. At St Joachim masters and pupils would meet. The de Bernières, the de Maizerets, the Valliers, the Villars, superiors of the house, we may be sure, spent some time there every year. Bishop Laval himself made a point of going there to meet his young people and enjoy a rest from his labours, and the memory of the pious bishop and of his collaborators remains and will remain in veneration, not only at the Quebec Seminary, but at St Joachim, where the Seminary still possesses the finest part of the property bequeathed to it by Bishop Laval.

The rôle of the Seminary in the matter of instruction was a rather limited one. The object of the founder and of his fellow-workers was to train boys in piety and virtue, to develop in them the best qualities of heart and mind, to correct their faults—in a word, to elevate their character. They succeeded in giving to the church or to the state holy priests, zealous missionaries, men of principle and character, useful citizens ; and their work has been sufficiently noble and great to speak for itself and render all eulogy unnecessary.

We may be allowed in taking leave of our subject to draw a few general conclusions.

In France, before the Revolution, all the provincial towns and the majority of the country parishes were provided with elementary schools. Many of the colonists who came to Canada possessed a certain amount of education and wished to procure the same advantage for their children. It was the clergy, in great measure, who undertook to impart it to them. The elementary schools of the Jesuits, of Ste Foy, the Island of Orleans, St Joachim, Point Levy, Château-Richer, the Quebec Seminary, Montreal and Three Rivers, etc., were founded in the seventeenth century ; the eighteenth witnessed the establishment of a much larger number. These schools were intended for boys, but the education of girls was not neglected. The Ursulines of Quebec and Three Rivers, the nuns of the General Hospital at Quebec, the Sisters of the Congregation at Montreal, at Quebec and in the country parts, where, at the close of the French régime, they had nine convents, prove that we do not exaggerate.

The country owed these schools and these convents, those in the rural districts at least, in great part to the clergy. The Jesuits, Bishop Laval, Bishop Saint-Vallier, Saint-Sulpice, the curés Boucher, Lamy, Basset, Geoffroy, Rémy, Villermaula, etc., etc., spared no effort to render elementary instruction accessible to the greater number. The same may be said of the teaching communities of men and women, such as the Ursulines, the General Hospital and the Sisters of the Congregation, the Charon Brothers and the Seminary of Quebec, who often gave instruction gratuitously.

Secondary education was given by the Jesuit college ; the Latin schools established here and there prepared boys for the classical course ; the Quebec Seminary trained them more directly for the ecclesiastical state.

If secondary education was not so widespread here as in France, the fact must be attributed to the condition of the country and to circumstances. The small number and the poverty of the colonists, the almost complete lack of liberal careers, an almost perpetual state of war, are some of the reasons explaining why so few youths went through a classical course.

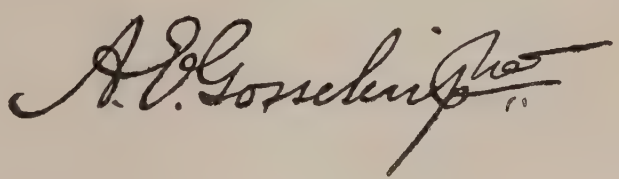
To make up for the want of liberal careers the religious

and civil authorities united their efforts to establish special (technical) instruction, and thus it was that there were schools of mathematics, navigation and hydrography, and establishments where arts and trades, not to speak of agriculture, were taught. While communities like the Jesuits and the Charon Brothers, and personages such as Monseigneur de Laval, Talon, de Denonville, Champigny, Vaudreuil, Raudot and others did everything in their power to create and maintain their schools, the government and the mother country aided them as much as possible by grants in land or in money.

The programme of primary studies was limited in general to reading, writing and arithmetic, and that sufficed for the period and the country; as to secondary education, it was as good and as complete as in the colleges of France.

We do not claim that, taken as a whole, education in Canada was as general or as well developed as in the mother country at the corresponding periods; but it is none the less true that it was much more so than was long believed, and that, allowing for the newness of the country and the circumstances of climate, remoteness, paucity of means, etc., it is really astonishing that the colonists were able to do so much and so well.

Credit for this result must be given to the clergy, who gave their earnest attention to the education of the young, to the civil authorities who took an active part in the matter, and to the colonists themselves, who, on several occasions, if not always and everywhere, gave proof of really remarkable goodwill. This condition of things explains how it is that French Canada has been able to preserve intact a religion, a language and institutions that are the basis of its nationality.



FRENCH EDUCATION

1763-1913

FRENCH EDUCATION

1763-1913

FOR the discussion of this comprehensive subject the years from 1763 to 1913 may be divided into four periods. In the first, from 1763 to 1824, popular instruction remained dependent upon private initiative, the religious corporations and the secular clergy, while the French Catholic Church fought out and emerged triumphant from her battle for liberty. Between 1824 and 1846 the problem of school legislation was worked out and numerous educational establishments sprang up throughout the province. In the years between 1846 and 1876 the educational system was developed and improved, and many religious societies of teachers, both men and women, arrived from Europe or were founded in the province. Lastly, in 1876, public instruction took a definite and independent place in the sphere of active politics, and from that time has continued to adapt itself to the requirements of a growing population.

Before 1763 public instruction had been treated as a private enterprise or as an occupation for the clergy and the religious societies, and had been favoured, as is known, with excellent results. After that date many years were passed in experiment, groping in the dark, until at length it took its place beside the civil, political and religious organization that obtained the legislative independence of the Province of Quebec. It will therefore be possible to preserve the chronological order of events in this endeavour to characterize the progress of instruction and the influence and success of educationalists in solving the special problems with which they were confronted.

I

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1763-1824

THE profound disturbances caused by the capitulation of Quebec and Montreal and by the Treaty of Paris affected every branch of education. Suddenly deprived of their aristocracy, their men of wealth, the regular army, even the clergy of French birth, and of their western trade, the people along the banks of the St Lawrence had none left to act in their interests but the national clergy, men sprung from their own ranks, whose lives had long been identified with their own. The alliance of church and colonists, cemented by two centuries of common struggle for the Christian faith and French civilization, became to all appearances the one safeguard of the young colony abandoned by the mother country to England. This is a fact of which no one must lose sight who wishes to follow the different phases of the education question after 1763.

While the French Canadians guarded the memory of their traditions in their military and religious organizations, the new government, with only a small number of English immigrants to support it, took fright instinctively at free institutions. It was long before it could adapt itself completely to the country and the customs of the inhabitants; and it thought to gain by coercion and intimidation what it would have acquired more easily and more fully by a régime based on goodwill, sympathy and liberty. As it was, two parties were soon formed in the colony with incompatible ideas and divergent aspirations; on the one hand, the whole French Catholic population of the St Lawrence district, on the other, the governor of the colony, the administrative officials, and meagre groups of Englishmen settled chiefly in the towns. Such were the principal actors in the drama to be unfolded on the shores of the St Lawrence, the issue of which was to ensure the final victory of educational liberty as understood in modern times—in other words, the foundation of the system of denominational or separate schools.

Immediately after the surrender of Montreal, and before the Cession of Canada to England had been ratified by the Treaty of Paris, the governor of Quebec inquired into the state of the revenue of the Canadian church, the condition of the different parishes, and the number of Sisters of the Congregation ; all letters were visé'd, in order, said Cramahé, that the correspondence of the Canadians 'might be subjected to the inspection dictated by prudence under such circumstances' ; the criminal court was set up at the Ursulines in Quebec, and Murray ordered Briand, the Grand Vicar, to have the *Te Deum* sung in all the churches to celebrate the victory of English arms in Canada. Orders were given for the Catholic cemeteries to be opened to Protestants. The troops were quartered in the Jesuit college and the pupils sent away ; and even the elementary school was forced to close its doors in 1776 to make room for a depository for the archives. All the professors at the Quebec college returned to France after the capitulation of Montreal. The Jesuits who remained in the colony devoted themselves to the instruction of the Indians and the duties of the French missions.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 confirmed the restrictions, placed upon religious societies of men, that had been incorporated in the terms of the capitulation of Montreal. Their property was without delay assigned piecemeal to the crown, though left for the time being at the disposal of the monks ; and Récollets and Jesuits were forbidden to recruit their ranks in the colony or to shelter monks from abroad. The Récollets of Montreal and Three Rivers, deprived of part of their revenue, joined their monastery at Quebec or devoted their labours to the spiritual needs of the Catholics along the St Lawrence. A single blow had bereft the country of its principal educational resources and the population of the two societies of men best qualified to preserve for them the advantages of instruction. However, the small schools maintained in several parishes by the Récollet brethren long survived the alienation of the property of the order.

Thus the beginning of English rule saw the destruction of all primary and secondary education, and it was left to the secular clergy, already burdened with the demands

of their parochial duties, to provide for the higher careers that alone could preserve the sense of nationality. Any doubt that may have existed as to the character of the new administration was removed by the instructions, dated December 7, 1763, sent to Murray by the minister for the Colonies. 'You are not to admit,' he says, 'of any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the See of Rome, or any other foreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction whatsoever in the Province under your Government. And to the End that the Church of England may be established in Principle and Practice, and that the said Inhabitants may by Degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant Religion, and their Children be brought up in the Principles of it; We do hereby declare it to be Our Intention when the said Province shall have been . . . divided into Townships, . . . all possible Encouragement shall be given to the erecting of Protestant Schools. . . .'

No situation could have been more critical—ruin everywhere, French law abolished, the liberty of the citizen threatened, public office forbidden to Canadians, their leaders without authority, their clergy weakened and their schools closed, the whole population poor and scattered over an immense area. Defeated but not daunted, the Canadian colony concentrated its forces and sought fortune and freedom in the cultivation of the soil. Little by little the people obtained possession of the rich fertile lands on the shores of the St Lawrence and met a system of exclusion with peaceable but unceasing protests animated by their true sense of right and justice.

For secondary education there still remained the *Petit Séminaire* at Quebec. Deprived of the Jesuits' courses of study, it had to remodel its classes and rely upon its own resources. Thus, even in 1763 the 'classical' course was organized and divided into five classes, each covering one year's study: the syllabus included French, English and Latin, literature, rhetoric, physics and chemistry. Disputations in mathematics gave place in 1775 to public lectures. At first only one lesson a week in geography was given to the students of the three lower grades. Such was the extent of the course until after 1790.

Actuated by gratitude to the Jesuits as well as by their consciousness of the right of liberty, the French inhabitants began with a request signed in the autumn of 1763 a long series of patient and energetic petitions on behalf of public instruction, and especially of those colleges and seats of learning 'to which,' said Chaurest, 'the Canadians hold faster than to life.' 'The desire of the people,' said the petitioners, 'is to preserve the religious societies that are all occupied in each town in the service of the poor and the sick of the different hospitals that they manage, or in the instruction of young people of their own sex.'[1] The Jesuits, for their own part, begged the king to test their zeal and loyalty 'by permitting us to recommence the practise of teaching the young and to reopen our college closed four years ago.'[2] Father Glapion, the superior of the few Jesuits left in Canada, made the same request of Lord Shelburne on November 12, 1776.

The departure of Murray, who had shown himself so well disposed towards the Canadians, whom he once called 'the bravest and the best race upon the globe,' aroused universal regret in the colony. Thinking to find no better advocate in the mother country, the colonists urged him to carry their grievances to the foot of the throne:

> As we hope through the kindness of the king to preserve the houses of the seminary, established in this province, so useful in the instruction of the young and the training of the clergy, we flatter ourselves that His Majesty will be gracious enough to preserve the college of Quebec as well as the other communities of men and of girls. These latter are destined to care for the sick and to instruct young girls under the authority of the common or superior clergy. His excellence, who understands both the usefulness and the need of these different societies in a country where means of education are rare, and who knows the wisdom with which these convents have been established and administered, is most humbly prayed to protect them and to support our petition in their favour as well as for the preservation of their order

[1] Petition to Lord Halifax, September 1763: Canadian Archives, State Papers, Series Q, vol. 1, p. 224.

[2] Letter of October 24, 1763: *Ibid.*, Series Q, vol. 1, p. 262.

> and of their modest possessions ; we make bold to say that it will redound as much to the glory as to the favour of the king to leave to a good people a support upon which it places so high a value, a support that cannot prejudice in any way but will rather promote the good of his realm.

In a letter of August 7, 1769, the Bishop of Quebec joined the Jesuits, clergy and laity in petitioning the king to re-establish the Quebec college ; he leaves the matter of recruiting professors to the authorities.

The important petition signed in 1770 by the leading French inhabitants of Quebec asking Carleton for public instruction pointed out that

> the Jesuit college, without being burdensome or contrary to the principles of the government, would be an excellent means of teaching the children good manners, honesty, propriety, the study of languages, the sciences of philosophy, mathematics, engineering, navigation and civil law, and in general all the arts and humanities. In this way the ' honest families ' of the country would be prevented from having their children educated in France, and would help British colonies and the mother country herself in giving their young people the opportunity to learn French. The Quebec Seminary cannot accomplish the work of the Jesuits owing to its small number of professors, the inadequacy of its revenue, and the smallness of its premises. Does not equity demand that the property of the Jesuits revert to its early use—the preaching of the gospel to the savages, and the education of the youth of the colony ? May the king allow just for once six chosen subjects to come from Europe who are capable of teaching the higher sciences and training in Canada native teachers, who in their turn may prosper learning.

Still London remained deaf to the prayers of the Canadians. The authorities took no interest in this question.

On the other side, the English population of the colony secretly counted the advantage that might be gained from the difficulties of the Catholics. ' If the order which prohibits the Récollets and the Jesuits from recruiting their convents is continued, we shall, in a few years, without violence, or giving offence, and without appearing to depart from the general

lenity of the King's government, have more churches to ourselves, than we can possibly occupy, or keep in repair.'[1] Even the parish clergy could not fill the gaps made by death in their ranks; in 1783 seventy-five parishes out of one hundred and fifty lacked officiating clergy. Is it surprising that intellectual life lost some of its intensity? 'Education,' said a petition of 1783, 'is only neglected in this province through the lack of masters and professors of every kind . . . the province is in desperate need of outside assistance.'[2] Monseigneur Hubert wrote:

> More than ever the Canadians are left to their own resources. No sooner was the Jesuit order suppressed by the Pope than the Crown decreed (in 1777) the escheat of the property given to the order in Canada for the education of the youth and the needs of public worship. Its revenue was transferred for the maintenance of the 'Protestant Grammar Schools' of Montreal, Quebec, and Three Rivers. The legislative council even wished to exclude from the privilege of Habeas Corpus the whole regular clergy, though it was no more than a shadow of its former self. It was only in 1786 that royal instructions removed the ban placed on the societies forbidding them to recruit themselves in the country, and the government still obstinately refused the bishops of Quebec authority to admit French priests into the province in the capacity of professors.[3]

Twenty years after the Cession the national and religious life of the people seemed in danger of extinction. This, however, was not to be. The test oath ceased to be exacted from Canadians and free access to public office was finally granted them. The Quebec Act of 1774 was the dawning of an era of justice, and the French Canadians, though their external relations were still the object of strict surveillance, could hope to better their lot now that they were no longer entirely deprived of every means of education. A sentence recorded

[1] Carleton to Hillsborough, July 21, 1768: Canadian Archives, Series Q, vol. 5, p. 726.

[2] Letter from Adhémar and Delisle to Haldimand: *Ibid.*, Series Q, vol. 22, p. 62.

[3] Letter from Monseigneur Hubert to M. Brassier, Sulpician, May 27, 1790: Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec, vol. i. p. 135.

in 1776 in the travelling diary of Anburey, an English officer, throws a little light on the state of education in parishes situated on the left shore of the St Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal: 'Every three leagues may be found a kind of small village, consisting of a presbytery, an inn, a school for little children, and some houses.'[1] The Récollets still taught in several large villages, at L'Assomption, Boucherville, Laprairie, Terrebonne, Verchères, Rivière du Chêne, Nicolet, etc.

In every society disturbed by war or political dissensions the education of girls is less susceptible to the shock of events than that of boys. Further, it has been very rightly pointed out that under the French régime and during the first years of English rule girls were better educated than boys, though the facilities for recruiting sisters to teach, so great about 1750, were decreased in the succeeding years. Thanks to the sixty Ursulines of Quebec and Three Rivers, the elementary and higher instruction of girls received much attention and care. The uncloistered Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame resumed their work in the small country schools, at Pointe-aux-Trembles on the Island of Orleans, at Rivière-du-Sud (1763), at Lachine, at Saint-Denis, at Pointe-Claire and at Champlain; while in 1769 their school in the Lower Town of Quebec was reopened after an interruption of ten years. In 1784 at least twenty-four sisters were teaching in the rural parishes, directing, that is, a dozen schools. For a time the existence of the society was menaced by the governor, Sir Guy Carleton, who forbade them to accept any candidate less than thirty years old or to admit anybody to the profession without his permission.[2] This restriction was soon removed, but it was evident to Canadians that the danger of the future was that the general level of instruction might be allowed to decline. All the petitions of this time were unanimous in declaring the difficulties of teaching in every grade. Seminaries were without professors or resources, parishes without clergy; and while the colonists, though poor and dispersed, kept founding new establishments,

[1] *Journeys in North America*, vol. i. p. 65.

[2] Faillon, *Life of Sister Bourgeoys*, vol. ii. *passim*.

the government stood aside, distrustful and often hostile, and the property of the Jesuits and the Récollets was still used, in the face of public opinion, for the upkeep of English schools, and that of the Sulpicians was still coveted by the authorities.[1] Public instruction was passing through a crisis that did not seem likely soon to end, and only the force of popular opinion and the instinct of national preservation helped to relieve the unfortunate condition of affairs.

It was at this time that a humble Sulpician, Curateau, the curé of Longue-Pointe near Montreal, opened in his presbytery in 1767 one of the first Latin or 'classical' schools founded after the Cession. The early success of this institution was so marked that the *fabrique* of Notre Dame de Montréal, with the assistance of certain citizens, undertook the management of the school with a view to extending its work in the small schools. To this end the *fabrique* purchased in 1773 the old manor of Vaudreuil, and thither transferred the Latin school, which became the first of the great colleges founded under the new rule in this district. 'Languages were taught there and *belles lettres* up to and including the study of rhetoric; those who wished to study such sciences as philosophy and theology were obliged to go to the Quebec seminary for their instruction.'[2] In this way the French children of Montreal escaped the necessity of going to the English school. Efforts were made to increase the number of pupils, and especially novices, by demanding from day scholars, who were then numerous, only a very moderate fee.[3] Several other classical colleges, such as those at St Hyacinthe and Ste Thérèse, probably founded their syllabuses and disciplinary rules upon those in force at this school.

It was not until 1790 that the directors, at the instigation of the citizens of Montreal, asked for a charter of incorporation. Doubtless to ensure a welcome for their request, they proposed that the school should be called Clarence College,

[1] Memorial presented to Lord Dorchester, November 19, 1787: Canadian Archives, Series Q, vol. 35, p. 70.

[2] Letter from Monseigneur Panet to Kempt, November 16, 1829: Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec.

[3] Letter from Monseigneur Hubert to Abbé Marchand, October 19, 1789: *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 71.

in honour of the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV), and expressed their willingness to accept government control. They soon obtained more than they had asked. Eleven Sulpicians, driven from France by the Revolution, arrived at Montreal with a special recommendation to Lord Dorchester from the British secretary of state. They came none too soon; of the Sulpicians of 1760 there remained only two, both septuagenarians; and this unexpected reinforcement assured the perpetuation of the Sulpician Order and of the extensive work that it directed or supported with its funds.

And so, since the Conquest, public instruction had remained inadequate. The colonial authorities could see this, and did see it, and nothing had been done. Religious differences did even more to widen the breach between the common people and the government than bickerings over the administration. It was easy, therefore, to foresee the conclusions of the general inquiry on public instruction called for by Lord Dorchester in 1787 and opened in 1789. The commission of inquiry was composed of nine members selected from the executive council, five of them Englishmen. They accumulated proof of the lack of education among the French and made certain recommendations with a view to improving the system.[1] The Bishop of Quebec had countenanced this ill-disposed inquiry without any delusions as to the end for which it was making—the centralization of the whole provincial system in the hands of an academic corporation. His attitude, as he said, had 'the advantage of letting it be seen that they cannot throw stones at our nation without her knowing it.'[2] He also asserted that the number of those who could read and write varied between twenty-four and thirty in each parish.

Enough perhaps has been said to show the extent of the responsibility of the authorities. To escape from the precarious situation they offered the Canadians an English Protestant university that should have the supervision of a

[1] Report of a Committee of the Council on the subject of promoting the means of education. Quebec, 1790, p. 20.

[2] Letter from Monseigneur Hubert to M. Brassier, Sulpician, November 23, 1789: Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec, vol. i. p. 101.

vast educational system embracing every grade of instruction. In this way the neutrality of the school would be ensured and the French Catholic majority subordinated to an infinitesimal minority of English Protestants, while the executive would have the entire patronage of public education as well as the means to anglicize and protestantize the French Canadians. Even in the opinion of the most enlightened Englishmen it was an untimely project, for the people were neither sympathetic to it nor ready for its realization.[1] Though the coadjutor of Quebec, Monseigneur Bailly de Messein, favoured the plan, the inhabitants refused absolutely to accept it. For the first time they avoided the danger of submitting their whole educational system to an authority that wished at any cost to maintain the spiritual supremacy of the king of England.

Meanwhile, in 1790, the statistics of every religious society in Canada except the Hospitallers revealed a decrease in membership since 1784. At Montreal and Quebec the professors and regents of the colleges were mostly young seminarists, still little more than beginners; on the other hand, the teaching was given practically free or for a very low individual fee. There were no books, no libraries, no laboratory appliances. The societies had no longer either the liberty or the means to spread education.

A new impulse was given to the educational movement with the arrival of several exiled French priests, especially the eleven Sulpicians already mentioned. The two schools at Montreal no longer meeting the growing needs of the town, the superior of St Sulpice, Roux, opened a third in 1796 in the suburb of St Laurent, and, following this, several others at Bonsecours and in the suburb of St Joseph. In all of these schools, with the exception of that known as the 'seminary' school, children of both sexes were taught. Free instruction spread rapidly.

The permanent education committee founded in 1791 and composed of members of the legislature confined its work from this time to the hearing of popular grievances

[1] Letter from Dr Mountain to Dundas, September 15, 1794: Canadian Archives, Series Q, vol. 69, II. p. 385.

and to making fruitless suggestions. The Jesuit property still lay unappropriated for any definite purpose, and Amherst claimed a share of it in recognition of his services. The solution of the difficulty was delayed by the action of the English government in leaving the management of the property in the hands of a commission, the expenses of whose administration swallowed up nearly all the revenue. The houses at Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers had long been appropriated for purposes contrary to the intentions of their founders, and such income as was left barely sufficed, as a matter of fact, to meet the needs of the surviving members of the order. The last of them, Father Casot, made over the ownership of the remainder of these estates to the governor in 1799 and begged him to make provision 'for the fulfilment of the pious wishes of the founders.' [1]

The only reply that this request drew from Milnes was a letter to Portland in which he wrote: 'The Canadians must lose all hope of seeing their building [*i.e.* the Jesuit College] restored to its original purpose.' [2] In 1800 Father Casot died, and in the same year Father de Berey, the last superior of the Récollets, also expired. Thus disappeared the two great societies that had rendered such signal services to religion and the education of the people's children since the foundation of the colony. Their end was darkened by the certain knowledge that the wishes of their founders and benefactors would not be respected, and that henceforth the Canadian people would be deprived of the ever-growing resources of their great estates.

The arrival in 1793 of Dr Mountain, the Anglican bishop of Quebec, a strong supporter of authority, gave new strength to the English party that desired to anglicize the Canadians. The active correspondence that he kept up with the minister for the Colonies disclosed the humiliating situation of the Anglican Church, the lack of headway made by the English language among the Canadian population, and the privileged position of Catholicism in Canada. In

[1] Letter from Father Casot to Milnes, November 15, 1799: Canadian Archives, Series Q, vol. 84, p. 149.

[2] Letter from Milnes to Portland: Canadian Archives, Series Q, vol. 86, p. 1.

the interests of primary instruction he took up the project of 1789 and tried to apply it; in spite of the opposition led by J. F. Perrault, he obtained from the English government the famous act recommended by the committee of the council, known as the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. Its real purport, hidden under a pretence of goodwill, was to take away the right of teaching from the Canadians and to establish an educational monopoly, guaranteed by the executive to the English Church and paid for by the French Catholic population, for the upkeep of Protestant or neutral schools. A committee of Protestants under the presidency of the Anglican bishop appointed masters and fixed their salaries, drew up programmes of study, and dictated the methods and books to be used. The law authorized the foundation of an elementary school in every parish and of a model school in the chief town of each county. At the same time it permitted the children to be taught in their mother tongue, and ensured the control of religious instruction and the right of inspection to the curé or minister of public worship. There was no better means, thought Dr Mountain, of weakening the Canadians' attachment to their faith and mother tongue. Portland, for his part, instructed Milnes to encourage the spread of English, 'for the establishment of which you will consider yourself hereby authorized to appropriate from the provincial revenues such sums as may be necessary to pay the salaries of the masters.'

The government had offered more than the Canadians wanted and the people instinctively distrusted every scheme of education emanating from their political and religious opponents. The parish clergy obstinately refused to countenance this new monopoly and declined the office of school visitors. They held firmly to the stand that they had taken at the first, and, on the ground that any acceptable system of instruction must be based on the denominational principle and on liberty of teaching, demanded the creation of a department of Education composed exclusively of Catholics under the direction of their bishop. On this essential point there could be no compromise. The country population every-

where declined the services of the young Protestant schoolmasters and preferred that their schools should remain empty rather than that their children should be tempted to abandon their religious beliefs and national traditions. 'Before the conquest,' wrote Milnes to Camden, 'the Jesuit college furnished ample means of instruction. To-day, the most promising young people must either remain without instruction, or go and seek it in the United States, few people having the means to send their children to England.'

The Canadian people, however, whether in the towns or in the country, were not entirely dependent upon the authorities. They opened beside their churches, or even in the *salles des habitants*, elementary schools in numbers considerable for the time; but the fear of being dispossessed was hanging over them, and they were still deprived of a law to assure their perpetuity and legality.

In another quarter Monseigneur Plessis had succeeded in getting into touch with the governor without in any way compromising the rights of his compatriots. A member of the legislative council in 1811, and afterwards officially recognized as Bishop of Quebec, he encouraged, supported and assisted the free public schools that were being opened; but he refused in 1816 to countenance a corporation promoted for the purpose of founding a mixed college to be maintained by the income accruing from the Jesuit property. Fully alive to the needs of the country, he concentrated his attention upon the formation of an educated class that should produce energetic and enlightened leaders in politics and in religion.

In 1803 Brassard, the curé of Nicolet, bequeathed to that parish a small estate on condition that an elementary school should be established. This institution soon developed into a Latin school, and later a classical college. Monseigneur Denault, already the patron of the Latin school opened at L'Ange Gardien by the curé Raimbault, took a special interest in the new institution and mapped out for it a syllabus and rules of discipline, while Monseigneur Plessis made it a present of two hundred and fifty acres of land. This college, large enough to house seventy boarders

and situated half-way between Quebec and Montreal, was soon in a position to render valuable service to a considerable population. The enemies of the French Canadians did not look with favour on the institution, and, if we may believe the bishop, even recommended that the property should be confiscated ; and for a long time it laboured under great difficulties, finding it hard to keep up the numbers of its students and still harder to recruit professors. Yet already nearly all the subjects of the modern *cours classique* were included in its course of study. Other Latin schools grew up in the country presbyteries, and some of them, with co-operation between parish and clergy, subsequently became prosperous establishments for secondary education. One of these, opened by the curé Girouard at St Hyacinthe in 1811, had thirteen years later sixty-six boarders and thirty day pupils, taught by a director and seven regents or professors, all ecclesiastics; at that time grammar, Latin, English, French, literature and rhetoric were being studied, and it was proposed to add mathematics and philosophy to the course.

The college of St Roch de Québec, founded by Monseigneur Plessis in 1818, adopted a system of teaching by which the more gifted students could cover all the classical subjects in a short time ; but it was too near the Little Seminary of Quebec, its resources were slender, and it had to close its doors after eleven years.

The existence of so many different foundations proves that the educational movement was everywhere quickening. Educational legislation of a nature acceptable to every party in the province was now urgently required. As early as 1819 and 1820 the two houses of the legislature had agreed upon a law that should put an end to the monopoly of the Royal Institution and sanction officially the foundation of separate schools, but the colonial office objected to a subsidy being granted and refused obstinately to sanction the bill. The line of attack had to be changed, and it was the parish *fabriques* that made possible the legislation of 1824.

II

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1824-46

A NEW era in the history of public instruction now opened. Impressed by the stubborn opposition of the Canadians and the failure of the Royal Institution, the English party became more conciliatory and adopted some of the reforms long and ceaselessly demanded by the Catholics. The whole problem of freedom and of the denominational principle of elementary education gripped the public attention, and the representatives of the nation hastened to apply to the educational system the principle of dualism that they had asserted in general politics and provincial administration. The people made a vigorous stand for definite freedom of teaching, and slowly the authorities, so long hostile, slackened their hold on instruction of every grade. The simultaneous development of education in every part of the province is proof that its previous neglect was due, not to the apathy or indifference of the population, but to the necessity of an atmosphere of freedom.

The inquiry of 1824 startled all patriots and friends of liberty of teaching into action, and in the same year the legislature carried the 'law of the *fabrique* schools.' By this law the *fabriques* were authorized to devote a quarter of their income to the foundation of one school in each parish, or of two in parishes of more than two hundred families. The right of inspection that had been given to the parish clergy by the Royal Institution was supplemented by authority to superintend the erection and management of the schools, the choice of masters, the selection of courses of studies, the fixing of salaries, etc.

The gravest defect in this law of liberation was that it laid the management of public instruction on the *fabriques*, that were already overburdened by their numerous and ever-increasing parochial duties. Furthermore, in some parishes the 'notables' offered a stubborn opposition, and took advantage of the financial embarrassment of the *fabrique* councils

and the ambiguities in the law to prevent it being applied to good effect. At the same time the new legislation rendered the inestimable service of striking a mortal blow at the old educational system by recognizing the principle of freedom of instruction and the separation of the two nationalities in Lower Canada for educational purposes. With the control of public instruction placed at last in the hands of the clergy by this salutary law, the educational movement, already vigorous, gained new activity. In ten years an excellent system of elementary schools extended through the province.

Further, the historian Bibaud could write in 1824: 'Whatever people may say, education is all the time making progress in our midst; there are to-day few parishes of any considerable size in which there is not a school on a more or less satisfactory footing—and this without taking account of private tuition, which is also extending, still faster perhaps in proportion than public education.' The educational societies made some progress. The Congregation of Notre Dame had seventy-two teachers, the Ursulines of Quebec forty-three, the Ursulines of Three Rivers twenty-six. In the city of Quebec there were at least six French or English Catholic schools, and the Educational Society there had a school attended by two hundred and fifty children and worked on the mutual Lancaster system. There were *fabrique* schools in forty-eight parishes in addition to the thirteen convents of the Ladies of the Congregation in rural communities. The parish of Rigaud alone had in 1821 a Catholic headmaster and headmistress as well as two itinerant teachers; this was sufficient justification for the boycott of the Protestant schools at that time.

Thanks to the generosity of the priests of St Sulpice, Montreal was particularly well provided with schools. The *Quebec Almanack* for the year 1825 says: 'Beside the three hundred scholars attending the Montreal *Petit Séminaire*, the Seminary [of St Sulpice] principally supports 13 separate school houses in the different parts of the city or its neighbourhood where both the English and French languages are taught to 1200 boys and girls. All the poor children are

admitted gratis, and if necessary are clothed at the expense of the Seminary.'

In addition to these foundations, forty-eight schools were in operation in the province under the direction of the Royal Institution. Neither Dalhousie nor Monseigneur Panet gave up hope of improving the machinery of the law of 1801 'in such a way as might extend the blessings of education to all His Majesty's subjects in this province.' In 1827 they worked out in collaboration a scheme of education not unlike that which exists in Quebec to-day—a general body 'whose work shall be more particularly concerned with the administration of funds and other purely temporal affairs and such business as may be considered chiefly secular,' and two independent committees, one Catholic and one Protestant, each under the presidency of the head of the religious hierarchy, to regulate all the educational questions of the religious denomination that each represented.'[1] This would have ensured the division of education so strongly desired by the French Canadians upon a basis not of racial but of religious differences, and would have guaranteed the right of the minority to freedom of instruction. But although the Royal Institution had failed everywhere, and had even asked to be relieved of the education of Catholics, it killed the new project on the ground, says Bishop Panet, that 'the trustees have found that the members of the catholic committee were too numerous [there were eleven] and that too many of them [in fact five] were *ex officio*.'

The rapid spread of education could not have been brought about simply by the new law of the *fabrique* schools, for these seem to have increased in number but slowly; according to Meilleur there were not more than sixty-three by 1829. From this fact it may be gathered that the free schools that owed their existence to private initiative or various combinations of interests held the confidence of the people, since in 1829 there were more than 14,700 pupils in these small schools maintained at great sacrifice by a poor and scattered population.

[1] Letter from Monseigneur Panet to Dalhousie, January 9, 1827: Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec, vol. 13, p. 97.

People and house of assembly alike were spurred to new educational legislation by this rapid progress of popular instruction. The law of 1829 did not repeal the two that had preceded it, but made them more democratic by establishing a board of five trustees elected from each educational district; it also authorized the legislature to pay half the cost of new school buildings up to the sum of fifty pounds, secured the right of control and inspection by members of parliament, and finally introduced the system of pedagogy known as the mutual or Lancaster method. Two mistakes were made: first, the number of schools was limited; and secondly—a more serious defect—the law was only provisional and went out of force, unless renewed by parliament, on May 1, 1836. There was general satisfaction with a statute that gave absolute control of the schools to the legislature and apportioned nearly a third of the provincial revenue to public instruction. Educational progress at this period surpassed even the anticipations of the most optimistic; the number of students grew from 14,700 in 1829 to 37,000 in 1835, and to 60,000 in ten years more, and that in spite of the political disturbances that were convulsing the province.

In Montreal alone there were in 1837 at least seven primary schools for boys. Quiblier, who had followed Roux as director of the Seminary, had succeeded in building special schools both for boys and for girls in the city and its suburbs. The girls' schools were entrusted to the Sisters of the Congregation, who used them during the day and returned to their convent at night.

> They started in succession a large number of classes: three in the suburb of St Laurent; six in that of Quebec, two of them for Irish children; three classes in the *faubourg* St Antoine; three more in the *faubourg* St Joseph; two classes at the Récollets for the Irish. Some 1500 children are instructed and educated free in these schools; further, the Sisters of the Congregation have three establishments in their own convent: the boarding school composed of six classes; the large school, which has three classes, and the small school which has two.[1]

[1] Faillon, *Life of Sister Bourgeoys*, vol. ii. p. 478.

In 1835 several lay teachers were employed in free schools in Montreal.

The Catholic bishop of Quebec had statistics of the schools of the city drawn up in 1829, and it was found that there were eight for boys and nine for girls, seventeen in all. In the country the schools were mixed in the concessions, while in the larger villages the girls had a special school, often taught by nuns. The professors' salaries were very small—twenty-five to sixty louis a year. Masters and mistresses in the free schools as well as itinerant instructors received from their pupils fees sufficient to support them, especially in rural parishes.

In the political quarrels of these years the provisional nature of the educational legislation of 1829, amended as it was in 1832, was not forgotten. At the close of a general inquiry on public instruction in 1834, parliament drew up a bill to renew the law, or rather to render it permanent. According to the law of 1836 the country was to be divided into 1658 districts; 33,160 children were to be taught at an estimated cost of 71,000 louis; of this sum 30,600 louis were to be collected by direct taxation. The bishops of the province had protested against the monopolization of all educational authority in the hands of the general superintendent of the two committees, and called for the establishment of Catholic schools separate from the Protestant, 'as our consciences do not allow us to mingle our religious principles with those of our fellow-citizens who do not think as we do.'

The legislative council, however, being at that time in open conflict with the assembly on the question of finance, refused in 1836 to vote the moneys to be appropriated for elementary instruction, and as a result more than thirteen hundred primary schools lost their annual grants and suddenly became a charge upon the municipalities. Many of these schools were in danger of breaking up, for the population feared nothing so much as taxation for any purpose, and their alarm was accentuated by the political conflict of the hour. On May 1, 1836, two Montreal papers, *La Minerve* and the *Vindicator*, were issued with mourning borders, as a protest against the reactionary decision of the executive.

It was strangely paradoxical that the educational law of 1836 should close the doors of so many primary schools and at the same time appropriate funds to create two primary normal schools, one at Montreal and one at Quebec. These two institutions were to be non-sectarian and open to people of both nationalities. The interest of this departure lies in the fact that it was one of the last efforts in the sphere of education to encourage race-fusion, a principle long cherished by the authorities and not without support even among French Canadians.[1] The attempt failed as miserably as its predecessors ; it could make no headway against the masterly inactivity or spirited protest with which the Canadians of Quebec have met every effort at assimilation.

Two independent committees were charged with the establishment and local administration of the normal schools. By a happy inspiration they co-opted Abbé Holmes, an eminent educationalist, whose advice in this early period was of inestimable value to the whole teaching system of the province. Both as speaker and writer Holmes had become recognized among the people as one of the most active champions of general education. He had been sent to Europe in 1836 to study pedagogic methods ; he was fully conversant with the methods of instruction in the public schools of the United States and Canada, and the transformation of intellectual life in the country was largely brought about by his tremendous activity and enthusiasm. For the Ursulines and Sisters of the Congregation, as well as for the colleges of Quebec, St Anne, Nicolet and St Hyacinthe, he purchased the equipment for chemical and natural history laboratories and accumulated libraries. The normal schools were greatly indebted to him for the choice of their professors, course of study, and school outfit. Nothing definite is known of the normal school at Quebec. The school at Montreal was opened on September 7, 1837, and was in operation for five years, granting diplomas to the thirty students who attended the course during that time. The government also undertook the special training of fifteen schoolmistresses,

[1] See letters on elementary and practical education by Charles Mondelet, 1841.

who were placed under the direction of the Ursulines of Quebec and Three Rivers and the Ladies of the Congregation of Montreal—five in each convent. At a later date Meilleur, the superintendent of Education, paid a tribute to the ability of all these teachers, and also spoke in flattering terms of the mistresses trained in the normal school founded at St Eustache in 1827 by Dr Labrie. The law that authorized the foundation and maintenance of the normal schools was repealed in 1842, and never renewed. Not Holmes, but rather the fundamental defect of racial and religious neutrality, must be blamed for the lack of success of these first training colleges.

The comparative failure of this experiment, and the re-establishment of peace and orderly government, contributed to the more liberal educational legislation of 1841. By this measure all landed proprietors were required to pay a school rate; the desirability of school commissioners was recognized and the number fixed at five; above all, a department of Education was formed with a general superintendent for the two provinces, and two district superintendents for Upper and Lower Canada respectively. The law, however, though better than the earlier statutes that it supplemented but did not repeal, roused distrust and opposition, for it made the grave mistake of subordinating the educational commissions to the civil municipalities—bodies controlled by officials nominated by the executive and consequently unpopular, especially as the said officials were believed often to be political agents, and therefore unable to make their zeal for the principles of education the guiding motive of their actions. These were the men, moreover, who assessed the educational rate and thus maintained the management of the schools, a right of control that was liable to detract seriously from the power and prestige of the commissioners nominated by the taxpayers. Unlimited and absolute authority was given by the law to the general superintendent of schools—the arbitrary right to fix courses of study, choose books, make regulations, and have the final voice in all disputes. 'The scheme,' said the bishops, 'leaves the clergy of the great majority of the inhabitants a mere shadow

of authority in the management of the schools . . . we ask for fair control in the choice of masters and books and provision for the establishment of separate Catholic schools.'

There was a natural apprehension that the two provinces had been united under a single power for the sole purpose of anglicizing the French population, and any interference of the general superintendent, Robert Jamieson, in the working of the educational system of Lower Canada would have aroused general discontent. As a matter of fact Jamieson was never anything but a figure-head in either province, and in each case the provincial superintendent was from the first the real director of public instruction and the source of all important amendments in the educational system. In Lower Canada two candidates presented themselves for the post—Jacques Viger, recommended by the bishops of Quebec and Montreal, and Dr J. B. Meilleur, who was appointed (1842). By the devotion, activity and good sense that he had always shown in the cause of popular education, Meilleur won over the best friends of education from the prejudices harboured by so many of them against the authority with which he was invested.

The compulsory school tax was as unpopular as the dependence of the school commissioners on the municipal councils and was vehemently opposed in some places. The struggle over this question lasted ten years. In 1843 a law had to be passed to authorize the distribution of grants withheld from recalcitrant educational commissions. Two years later the Viger-Draper ministry was weak enough to yield to the outbursts of demagogues and the ' Extinguishers ' —*parti des éteignoirs*—and replaced the compulsory rate by a system of voluntary contribution. This only served to increase the unpopularity of a law that was already yielding excellent results, imperfect as it doubtless was in its working. Accordingly, though in the face of strong opposition, the government renewed the property tax for education in 1846. Thanks to the people's interest in education, the prestige of the clergy, who threw themselves fearlessly into the controversy, and the untiring energy of Dr Meilleur, the law of

1841 was restored, and is still the basis of the educational system of the province. The law of 1846 also removed the last obstacle that stood in the way of the establishment of the modern denominational school, for which the Catholics, who believed in the absolute separation of the two racial elements in the province, had always fought. The establishment of the free denominational school system—perhaps the best possible solution of the problem in a bi-racial country—since greatly improved, owed much to the strength of certain men of enlightened patriotism and nobility of character. A few words on the most notable of these will not be out of place.

J. F. Perrault offered strenuous opposition as a member of parliament to the foundation of the Royal Institution in 1801, and even introduced a counter-scheme that must inevitably have been violently rejected by the legislature. He improved upon this action by opening two elementary schools in Quebec at his own expense and conducting in them a thorough trial of the Lancaster method. He was also one of the most ardent promoters of the agricultural institutions. For many years he gave the whole of the time that he could spare from his duties as clerk of the courts to educational work, and among his contemporaries he earned by this enthusiasm the flattering title of 'Father of the Education of the Canadian People.'

The contemporaries of Labadie testify to the devotion and skill that won him so high a reputation as a primary teacher at Berthier in 1780 and at Verchères in 1794. He died in 1824.

Jacques Labrie, another member of parliament, was the founder of two model schools at St Eustache, one for boys under Paul Rochon and the other for girls taught by ladies. The latter was really a training-school well adapted to the requirements of teaching in the country districts. Labrie published two school manuals. He died in 1831 of an illness contracted during a tour of inspection in the schools of his district. Among others who rendered signal service to popular education may be mentioned John Neilson, the mouthpiece of the Bishop of Quebec in the legislature, who

so conscientiously inspected the schools of a wide district; Dr Barbin, who opened at Berthier the first institution to be set in operation in the seigneuries; and Michel Bibaud, the founder of several reviews in which much space was devoted to educational matters.

During the period now under consideration certain important questions were finally disposed of or made progress towards settlement. The revenue from the old Jesuit property, which as we have seen had reverted to the crown on the death of the last of the Jesuits in 1800 and had been placed at the disposal of the government, was used after 1829 to swell the provincial educational estimates brought forward in the house of assembly. The Sulpicians of Montreal were at last confirmed in the possession of their seigneurial domains. In 1839 the special council, agreeable to a recommendation of the last parliament, recognized the title-deeds held since 1663 by the seminary from the Society of Notre Dame in Montreal on the expressed condition that the annual revenue derived from the property should be spent in the propagation of the Catholic religion and the instruction of the young within the limits of the old parish of Notre Dame. Thus at last was removed the danger that had threatened the existence not only of the seminary itself but also of the many educational enterprises dependent upon it.

We have seen, however, that the Sulpicians had not waited for the official recognition of their rights of property and ownership, legacies and deeds of gift, before meeting the educational needs of an ever-growing population. In 1837, when the political crisis was at its height, they persuaded four Brothers of the Christian Schools to come from France, gave them a large schoolhouse, and provided the money to build novices' quarters in order that the brothers might recruit their numbers in the province and spread their influence and methods the more rapidly. This was the first of a long series of educational institutions for both sexes that came from France or were founded in the province, all of them to render valuable service to primary, secondary or scientific education. Between 1840 and 1855 at least five societies of men and sixteen of women were established in

Lower Canada, and devoted themselves, some of them exclusively, to the training of children.

Educational text-books improved slowly after 1763. Communication with France was only gradually renewed; the Canadian printing-presses were few in number and of inferior equipment; and the teachers, fully occupied with unremunerative work and without the opportunity to embark upon continuous study, produced little that was not meagre and unscholarly. The first book for use in secondary schools —a Latin grammar compiled in 1799—was published by the Seminary of Quebec. It was followed by a geography of twenty-seven pages (in 1804), Latin and French grammars, and reprints of brief French works, but all very elementary and none widely circulated. Some years before the Union less elementary text-books were written by Abbé Holmes, Abbé Demers and professors in the colleges at Montreal, St Anne and Nicolet. Teaching was of necessity mainly oral.

Primary education was scarcely better served. The *Grand Alphabet* was only published in 1800, Boutillier's *Arithmetic* in 1809. It is true that good service was rendered to primary education in the matter of text-books before 1841 by Michel Bibaud, J. F. Perrault, Labrie, J. B. Meilleur and others; but the first work on practical pedagogy worth mentioning—the *Teacher's Guide*, by Inspector Valade—did not appear until 1859. Science had been treated in books that were no doubt narrow but sufficiently broad to rouse interest in the subject. With the awakening of public spirit under the Union, the history of the old French colony found patriotic apologists in Bibaud and Garneau, and in eminent publicists and orators. The foundation of Laval University, the renewal of relations with France in the realms of literature and art, and above all the literary movement of 1860, bring the educational movement in Quebec down to the last—the modern—period.

The foundation of a university in Lower Canada was not considered in the years dealt with in this chapter. The study of law and medicine was purely empirical, carried on in the lawyer's office and the hospital. The medical schools at

Montreal and Quebec date back only to 1843. Theology was taught in the large seminaries of Quebec and Montreal (the Montreal Seminary was opened only in 1840) under the immediate supervision of the bishop, and sometimes even in the colleges that were springing up all over the province. Between 1824 and 1826 at least five large secondary schools were established—one at Ste Thérèse, founded by the curé Ducharme in 1825; one at Chambly, founded in the same year by the curé Migneault; one at Ste Anne-de-la-Pocatière, founded by the curé Painchaud in 1827; one at L'Assomption, founded by the curé Labelle and Dr Meilleur in 1832; and one at Joliette, founded by the Hon. Barthélemy Joliette in 1846.

These schools rose from very modest beginnings and, the devotion of teachers and generosity of benefactors notwithstanding, felt the strain of political and economic crises, and at such times were brought face to face with ruin. The classical colleges were in distressing circumstances in 1839, when it was found impossible to increase the fees for boarders, though they only stood at the very moderate figure of seventy dollars a year.[1] In the majority of these schools a division was made in the preparatory or primary classes. This division existed nearly everywhere, leading on the one hand to the classical course proper, and on the other to the commercial and industrial course. Even the colleges at Ste Anne and Ste Thérèse each had its school of agriculture, in which theoretical and practical instruction was given, and these were found to be extremely useful by the chambers of agriculture that subsidized them.

It will be seen that the idea of free instruction was growing in importance every year, and that what the authorities could not or would not see in the years that have been reviewed, private initiative, a devoted clergy and the religious societies had realized; they had taken up the work and had rendered incalculable service to the children of the province.

[1] Letter of Abbé Mailloux, February 2, 1839.

III

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1846-76

THE legislation of 1846 gave people, clergy and government an equitable control over the public schools. The subjection of all landed property to the education tax ensured free instruction. But the children were not forced to attend these schools, for Catholic and Protestant minorities were authorized to open schools in addition to those of the majority, to keep them up, and to direct them in accordance with their religious principles. Thus the old Province of Quebec established the system of separate schools. The law, however, as has been said, was not without its inconsistencies, and deputies who were more solicitous for their own popularity than for the cause of public education encouraged resistance, even to the point of acts of violence, to the legislation of 1846, and, under cover of the disorder resulting from their action, attempted to profit by the situation and recover the control and direction of the schools. It was only by the passing of several amendments or supplementary laws that certain clauses that had remained obscure in the last law were defined, and education was saved from reverting to the exclusive control of parliament as in 1829. The legislation of 1849, for example, authorized the formation in parochial districts of distinct educational corporations, in order to escape the retrograde effects of the old school divisions; it also gave the superintendent various administrative powers indispensable to his authority. The law of 1850 divided the province into twenty-three school districts under the direction of the same number of inspectors, while the law of 1856 established normal schools. Finally, in 1867, the principle of separation of the two racial elements was recognized in the Act of Confederation.

To carry out the prescriptions of the law of 1846, the fundamental principles of which are still in force to-day, a man was found whose experience in education was only equalled by the loftiness of his views—J. B. Meilleur, the superinten-

dent, who, with the curé Labelle, had founded the classical college of L'Assomption in 1832, had written highly esteemed educational manuals, and had fought with tongue and pen to secure liberty of popular education. He owed his appointment to the important office of superintendent of Lower Canada to his ability, industry and professional equipment. For more than a quarter of a century—until 1855 at least—he was to be seen ever in the vanguard of the defenders of the right of the people to instruction. His eighteen official Reports and his thirty Circulars to the teachers of the province serve as an almost complete treatise on education, and present a sound historical point of view, a profound understanding of the needs of the hour in education, and a programme of reform and action too wisely ordered and apposite to escape the attention of his successors.

With the people free at last to direct the legislation with which they had been entrusted, it became easier to better and to make more complete the existing educational system. The teachers were numerous and devoted to their work, and included in their ranks members of the clergy, professors trained in the classical colleges, and men of long experience. More than twenty notaries were directing primary schools in 1850.

Efforts had already been made to endow the teachers with the information and equipment necessary to their profession. The law of 1841 had provided anew for the foundation of a single normal school for Lower Canada. The people, who saw in this a return to the old idea of assimilation, resented it, and even the English finally came over to the French-Canadian view and proposed ' to establish a normal school in two departments, one for the catholics and one for the protestants.' The realization of this project, however, was delayed for fifteen years. Meanwhile several educational institutions tried to fill the breach. In Montreal Monseigneur Bourget had courses of training established by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. ' This excellent religious order,' wrote Dr Meilleur, ' whose novitiate is a real normal school, has in this way contributed to the preparation of a good number of lay teachers.' The superintendent suggested that courses in

pedagogy should be established in the classical colleges for persons of either sex who were disposed to become teachers. The college of St Hyacinthe took up the idea, but without much success. It was the primary teachers of the country districts themselves who were to have the greatest influence in securing the foundation of the normal school. With the progress of public education and the increase in the number of teachers, the Lancaster method, which had enjoyed great popularity until after 1836, was found to be more and more inadequate and was gradually abandoned. At the same time the teachers of the districts of Montreal and Quebec felt the necessity of learning the best methods and of profiting by the experience and the knowledge of their most successful colleagues, and as early as 1845 laid the foundations of useful teachers' associations. From the first the two associations of Quebec and Montreal were very active and gained the complete confidence of the public. The members met every six months, held meetings and freely expressed their views, which were communicated in due course to the department of Education. The Montreal Association had an ephemeral existence, although it counted among its members teachers of great experience like Léon Kirouac, its first president, J. E. Labonté, and above all, F. X. Valade, author of the excellent *Guide des Instituteurs*. The Quebec Association, founded by Antoine Légaré (who was its first president), Clément Cazeau, F. E. Juneau, F. X. Toussaint and N. Lacasse, met frequently and formed a library that was admirable for the period. These splendid societies, arising out of a bond of common ideas and responsibilities, were influential in the formation of the boards of examiners and of the system of inspection—two developments which, when well worked out, have proved of inestimable value.

From the very beginning masters and mistresses were dependent upon the curé of the parish, the school trustees, visitors and notables for permission to teach, while the considerable number of mistresses who were taught by the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame or the Ursulines were considered to have sufficient recommendation already for the management of schools, as far as teaching was con-

cerned, if not always from the point of view of professional equipment. The itinerant teachers dealt only with the parents of the children and were paid little. The law of 1841 authorized the department of Education to examine professional teachers in practical qualifications and theoretical knowledge. This unsatisfactory system was regulated by legislation of 1846, by which the boards of examiners, one Catholic and the other Protestant, were set up in each of the towns of Quebec and Montreal, with power to grant permanent diplomas of qualification to teach. After July 1, 1852, nobody was to have the right to teach in the public schools without a certificate. The period of grace was extended to 1857 for female teachers, while the special training through which the members of the societies of teaching sisters passed during their novitiate gave sufficient guarantees of instruction and qualification to teach, and exempted them from the official certificate. The teachers, who numbered 850 in 1853, proved willing to undergo the qualifying examination, and the superintendent was encouraged to have the other boards of examiners instituted with jurisdiction in the districts of Kamouraska, Gaspe, St Francis, Three Rivers, Stanstead and Ottawa. At first the boards met once a month, then three times a year, and later on, when almost all the teachers had taken the necessary qualifying examination, only twice a year.

As a natural consequence of the teachers' qualifying examination, the inspection of schools by officers of the department was instituted. In 1851-52 the schools of the province were apportioned among twenty-three inspectors, nominated by the government—chosen in several instances from among the best of the primary schoolmasters—whose duty it was to visit the schools four times a year (the number of the tours of inspection was soon reduced to two) and to report to the superintendent on the general condition of the schools, the work done by the masters and mistresses, the subjects studied in the classes, and the general standard of public education. The Reports of these superintendents consisted in the main of a collected edition of these numerous minute statements. The inspectors soon

carried their investigations into every department of education in the province, and were in this way responsible for many excellent innovations. Dr Meilleur, the superintendent, bore witness to the great influence that they had, by their active propaganda in connection with the educational commissions, in obtaining the acceptance and ensuring the working of the law of 1846.

The development of the educational system led necessarily to the foundation of normal schools for the training of the teachers of either sex, a departure made possible by the educational liberty enjoyed by the province at a time when the rapid increase in the number of schools caused the recruiting of teachers of high capacity to be one of the greatest problems with which the department of Education was confronted. In 1851 the provincial council of Quebec recommended the foundation of these schools ; the superintendent urged, and the teachers recognized, their necessity. It was now time to complete the structure so patiently built up since 1841.

In 1855 Dr Meilleur was succeeded by P. J. O. Chauveau as superintendent of Public Instruction. Born at Quebec in 1820, Chauveau was a journalist at seventeen, a member of parliament at twenty-three, a minister of the crown at thirty-one, and superintendent of Education at thirty-five. He was a man of an enlightened patriotism which had been confirmed in the political struggles of the first years of the Union that had resulted in the victory of responsible government. Entrusted with the direction of primary instruction at a time when the educational and literary movement permitted of the boldest reforms and the most daring experiments in the schools, and supported by public confidence and a general appreciation of his genius and past services, he was in a position to take every risk. Yet his only ambition was to see the principal desires of his predecessors realized and to perfect the working of the existing educational system. The increase, both in number and in value, of the schools kept pace with the rapid growth of population, and the movement was bravely and stubbornly defended in the house of assembly. In spite of the protests of the Lower

Canada radicals, G. É. Cartier passed two laws in 1856 that greatly improved the educational system of the province. By the first, the Jesuit property was appropriated for higher education, a Council of Public Instruction was created (it was organized three years later), and the educational commissions were authorized to increase the assessments up to a sum double that of the grant of the legislature.

The second of these laws established denominational primary normal schools in Lower Canada and raised the permanent funds of higher education from $25,000 to $88,000. The denominational system at last met with frank and general acceptance. It was destined to be included in the constitution of the Confederation of Canada eleven years later, as a witness to the wisdom and prudence of the men who had worked it out and had taken their stand on it for nearly a century. An organization of this kind meets all claims—claims of nationality, of creed, even of state, for the diplomas conferred by the state afford that guarantee of qualification, of professional equipment, and of knowledge that is rightly required of the teacher.

In the same year (1857) the Jacques-Cartier Normal School was opened at Montreal under the direction of Abbé Verreau, and also the McGill Normal School affiliated to the university of the same name, of which William Dawson was at that time principal. At Quebec the Laval Normal School was placed under the direction of Abbé Horan, a professor in the university; it comprised two departments, one for the male teachers in training at the Vieux Château, the other for the women teachers at the Ursulines. The untiring superintendent, Chauveau, was the soul of this movement and kept closely in touch with its progress. He chose principals and professors himself, drew up regulations, courses of study, etc. He gave the best of his exertions and his experience to the Jacques-Cartier Normal School at the Château de Ramezay; but he failed to introduce a department for women teachers there, as the Sisters of the Congregation refused to accept professors outside their own order, and more particularly because the legislative grant was inadequate. The Ursulines of Quebec, with a high sense of their secular responsibilities,

did not hesitate to enlarge the circle of their influence in education ; as early as 1857 they opened teaching classes for thirty-three normal students and entrusted their scientific and literary training to the lay professors of the male department of the Laval Normal School.

Though at first small, the number of normal students rose rapidly to the high total of one hundred at Jacques-Cartier and one hundred and twenty in the two sections of the Laval school. The influence of the normal schools soon made itself felt in the institution of extra opportunities for teachers in the primary schools, which made their positions moderately remunerative as well as thoroughly secure. The affiliation of the new teachers' associations to the normal schools as their natural centres may be first mentioned. Their operations comprised ordinarily two distinct categories, the lectures or meetings and the discussions. Chauveau, the principals and the professors of the normal schools took an active part in this work, and by their example aroused a most fruitful interest among the primary teachers. District associations were formed even by the country teachers ; as early as 1857 there was one at Laprairie and one at L'Islet. Others were founded by the indefatigable inspectors, at the village of St Marc by Archambault, at St Eustache by Germain, at St Damase by Leroux, etc. Though these had a brief existence, the idea was to be taken up again later, and the cause of education has profited by it extensively.

These associations reached only the immediate circle of their own membership ; the teachers' journal embraced the whole personnel of the schools. Founded in 1857 by Chauveau, the *Journal de l'Instruction publique* appeared monthly in both languages. It continued the work of the conferences, suggested systems of work and new educational methods, and put the teacher in touch with the educational publications of Europe. The French edition included among its chief contributors Chauveau himself, who wrote able articles for it on a wide range of subjects, Joseph Lenoir, A. N. Montpetit, Oscar Dunn—all of them men who made a name in Canadian literature. The English edition was not a translation of the French. Its successive editors, John Radiger, James Phelan,

Patrick Delaney and Henry H. Miles made it an excellent educational review.

La Semaine, founded at Quebec in 1864 by three primary teachers, lived only one year. The double edition of the *Journal de l'Instruction publique* was removed to Quebec in 1867 and lived several years longer, in spite of the reproach levelled against it that it relied too much on clippings and extracts from foreign journals. In 1879 its annual grant was refused and, for lack of funds, it ceased to appear. Its educational work was carried on by private initiative.

In addition to the educational journals that supplemented the work of the normal schools, Chauveau instituted in 1857 a common retiring fund for both Catholics and Protestants for the purpose of assisting teachers of either sex who were in want or unable to teach. It was maintained from two sources of unequal strength, an annual grant of $2500 by the legislature and the premiums of the teachers themselves. The annual interest of the pensions could not exceed eighty dollars. The premiums were soon insufficient to pay the pensions of the retired teachers who had hastened to make applications. In 1867 there were one hundred and sixty-four of these, and the pension had fallen from $4 to $1.75 for every year of teaching. In 1870 the legislature increased its annual grant to $4600. The scheme required the reorganization of 1889 to give it a new lease of life.

The era of liberty in education inaugurated in 1841 quickened the memories and traditions of the past and the desire to perpetuate them among the people, and they soon began to consider the creation of a university. The establishment of the denominational school system, the desire expressed by the first provincial council of Quebec in 1851, the hopes of the whole people and clergy alike, and above all the prestige of the teaching staff of the old seminary at Quebec, all went to show that the time was ripe for the foundation of a Catholic university for the province. Quebec, the old Laurentian capital, a city filled with the memories of a glorious past, the mightiest centre of intellectual activity in French Canada—Quebec had surely earned the honour of becoming a university city ; and that

honour she won in 1852, when Queen Victoria and afterwards Pope Pius IX guaranteed to her university the privileges and rights of the universities of Europe. The Archbishop of Quebec was visitor, the superior of the seminary *ex officio* rector, and the council included the directors of the Seminary and the three senior professors of each faculty. Particular attention was paid to the formation of the faculties of law and medicine with a teaching staff of laymen. The faculty of theology consisted of the students of the *Grand Séminaire*. Eventually Laval University (named after the first bishop of New France and the founder of the Seminary of Quebec) embraced several other schools and offered the classical colleges the privilege of affiliation. With the exception of the college of Ste Marie (Montreal), all hastened to place themselves under its jurisdiction in matters of education, and received from it their courses of study and general intellectual guidance. Situated in the Upper Town of Quebec, the university soon acquired the moral unity on which its progress depended. Professors and students live together in complete harmony of ideas and opinions, breathing the same traditions of race and creed. Some of its rectors and professors have won wide renown by their work in the fields of science and literature.

In the meantime several classical colleges had been founded by the united efforts of the wealthiest parish groups. These institutions opened their doors to the youth of the country, poor but hard-working young people who were sure of finding the reward of their labour and their sacrifice in the liberal professions and in business. The district of Montreal took the lead in the important movement of this period in the development of the classical school. The Masson College at Terrebonne was founded by the curé Théberge and the Masson family, and the college of St Laurent, near Montreal, by the Fathers of Ste Croix, both in 1847; in 1848 Ste Marie College was founded in Montreal by the Jesuit Fathers; in 1850 Bourget College, at Rigaud by the Clercs de Saint Viateur; in 1853 Monnoir College, by the curé Crevier, and Lévis College by the curé Deziel; finally the colleges of Three Rivers (1860), Rimouski (1867), Sorel (1867), Chicoutimi

(1873) and Sherbrooke (1875) were founded by the parochial clergy of these populous centres.[1]

Each of these colleges has a special character determined by the requirements and aspirations of the district from which it draws its students. At Monnoir the length of the classical course, preceded necessarily by the commercial course, is only five years. At Joliette, Rigaud, Lévis and Sorel the regular course covers six years, while elsewhere the courses have been modelled on the French classical programme, which requires eight years' study.

With the exception of Quebec, Montreal (Jesuits and Sulpicians) and Ste Thérèse—which was for a long time a *petit séminaire*—there are divisions between the commercial and classical sections. The colleges of L'Assomption, of Ste Anne, of Ste Thérèse and of Rimouski have even opened good schools of practical and theoretical agriculture. Certain subjects like geography, Greek and history have been found difficult to place in the courses of study, and Latin verse and prose composition have been losing ground steadily. The regents and professors are almost all members of the clergy, who, in their devotion to the children of the people, from whose ranks they themselves are sprung, content themselves with practically nominal salaries and remain teachers for a long time, some of them fifty years and more. The college budget in most cases is dependent upon the students' fees, the proceeds derived from agriculture or from property owned by it, and, more often, upon the generosity of old pupils, especially among the clergy.

IV

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1876-1913

THE inception of the modern educational movement was characterized by two important achievements, the foundation of Laval University at Montreal and the reorganization of the department of Public Instruction. The Quebec legislature, under the guidance of de Boucherville,

[1] The colleges of Chambly, Terrebonne and Sorel soon abandoned their classical courses for the exclusive study of commercial and industrial subjects.

passed a salutary law in 1876, which among many good points had two particular advantages: it divorced the school from politics and sanctioned the autonomy of the different religious faiths in matters of education. The ministry of Education was put under the charge of a single superintendent, independent of political parties. The Catholic committee was henceforth to consist of the bishops of the province and an equal number of laymen. Finally, in 1906, the composition of the committee was augmented by the appointment of four new members chosen from the professional teachers in the primary schools. The law of 1876 was the last and one of the most remarkable stages in the educational legislation of Quebec. Since that time, the first care has been to keep the system of public education out of political disputes and quarrels, and to make it into a self-governing department in the hands of disinterested men who have the development and progress of this essentially national work at heart. The superintendents Ouimet (1876-93) and Boucher de la Bruère proved worthy successors of Meilleur and Chauveau. These men were distinguished educationalists. With the exception of Ouimet, they have all written works of importance, and the sincerity of their religious and national sentiments has never been seriously challenged.

Before the death of Bishop Bourget (1841-85), one of the most energetic supporters of public education, Montreal, which had long been the most populous city in Canada, thanks to its commercial and industrial enterprise, openly declared its intention to break away from the university system of the province. Furthermore, when Pope Pius IX accorded canonical privileges to the University of Quebec in 1876, he authorized the foundation of a branch establishment at Montreal. The gulf grew wider and wider and the separation was not made without some feeling and difficulty. It was finally agreed that the entire expense of the branch university should be a charge on the diocese of Montreal, and that the rector should be represented by a vice-rector chosen by the university council and approved by the bishop. Abbé Proulx, vice-rector from 1888 to 1892, proved a most zealous protagonist of the independence upon which the progress of the univer-

sity depended. As early as 1889 Pope Leo XIII declared the branch establishment at Montreal to be a second seat—*altera sedes*—although it could not yet grant degrees, and the classical colleges remained affiliated to the parent university. The organization of the faculties was a delicate and difficult undertaking. The University of Montreal soon included the four faculties of theology, law, medicine and arts; since its foundation nine schools have become affiliated—the Polytechnic School, the Montreal School of Comparative Medicine and Veterinary Science, the School of Dental Surgery, the Laval School of Pharmacy, the Oka Agricultural Institute, the Higher Educational School for Girls, the Institute of the Marist Brothers, the Institute of the Brothers of Christian Instruction, and the Institute of the Brothers of the Holy Cross. The best qualified brothers of these last three *instituts* have begun to take special university courses in preparation for modern secondary teaching. Instruction is given in French in all departments except that of theology, where it is in Latin. The advisability of reforming the internal organization of the Montreal University and of removing it to more spacious premises has often been discussed in recent years.

New classical colleges have been added to the already long list of these secondary schools—one at Valleyfield in 1893, under the direction of secular clergy, the English College of Loyola in 1897, under direction of the Jesuits, and lastly, in 1911, the new college of St Jean and the Montreal Sacerdotal School. On the other hand, the college of Ste Marie-de-Monnoir closed its doors in 1912 after an existence of sixty years. The number of pupils in the classical colleges was 5766 in 1910 and is increasing rapidly. The groups of French-speaking people scattered over the continent send to these institutions a fairly large number of children every year. Under the growing influence of the ever-increasing number of professors holding European degrees, the courses of study, methods of teaching, and classical text-books have all improved noticeably in the last twenty years. Further, the majority of college students study philosophy and become bachelors of letters, of science, or of arts before entering the university.

Several college papers, directed by students under the guidance of the professors, have been published at different times, the most important being *L'Abeille* (Quebec), *Le Collégien* (St Hyacinthe), *Le Mémorial* and later *L'Écho du collége de Monnoir*, the *Annales Thérésiennes* (Ste Thérèse), the *Voix de L'Écolier* (Joliette). In the last-named college a single professor, Baillargé, edited the *Étudiant*, the *Bon Combat*, the *Famille*, and the *Couvent*, all of which have ceased publication. The influence of these papers was practically confined to the college circle and the alumni.

In libraries, laboratories, college and university museums, collections of books, of art treasures, and of curiosities have been made. In this connection the Quebec old seminary holds a unique position with its library of more than one hundred thousand volumes and its fine picture gallery.

Special attention has always been paid in the Province of Quebec to the study of theology. The influence of the teaching of the Canadian clergy in the two chief theological centres of Quebec (one hundred students) and Montreal (three hundred students) is felt throughout the continent. In the Canadian college opened in Rome in 1888 by the Sulpicians of Montreal the church has a higher school at which her clergy may drink at the very spring of Catholicism the purest traditions of the discipline, dogma and morality of the Christian doctrine.

In addition to the state teaching, which from this time has become one of the first cares of the government, free teaching in primary, higher or commercial schools advanced rapidly in the period now under consideration, thanks to the teaching brotherhood and sisterhood. In this connection the greatest debt is due to Monseigneur Bourget, the second bishop of Montreal. Between 1843 and the present day more than fifteen religious congregations have been founded in the province ; a still larger number have come from France. While some devote their whole attention to teaching, others add charitable work to their educational functions, and in this way have little difficulty in keeping up their numbers. Sons and daughters of the farmers of the province became novices. No sooner were the congregations founded than

they opened numbers of schools in Quebec and spread into the other provinces of Canada and even into the United States, where they followed the French-speaking emigrants. The Congregation of Notre Dame increased from sixty sisters in 1860 to more than seven hundred in 1880 and thirteen hundred in 1912. The Sisters of Providence, founded in 1843 and devoted to works of charity and education, numbered eighteen hundred in 1910.

Model schools and academies for boys, commercial colleges for large centres of population, orphanages, convents, girls' boarding-schools were soon to be found throughout the province, contributing greatly to raising the standard of popular education.[1] It need hardly be said that schools of this kind are to be found generally in the towns, which are more favourably situated for a commercial and technical education. At the same time the wealthier rural parishes—such as Victoriaville, St Athanase, Varennes, St Rémi, St Joseph-de-Lévis, St Hyacinthe, St Césaire, Longueuil, etc.—soon showed themselves eager to give the children of the agricultural classes an opportunity and to open broader careers for them in commerce and industry.

Teachers from religious societies have gradually taken the place of almost all lay instructors, except in Montreal. This is especially the case in the country districts and is due to their natural sympathy with the people from whom they draw their pupils, and to the small salaries with which they are content. Thus the standard of public instruction is maintained, though the average of the teachers' salaries has risen very little in spite of the increased cost of living.

Professional training, which is a development of the last five-and-twenty years, is increasing in scope and effectiveness. Under the name of Schools of Arts and Manufactures more than fifty free public classes have been started in eleven towns and colleges of the province for instruction in manual trades or subjects that make them easier of access and more

[1] Many of these independent schools make no official reports and receive no government assistance, and do not therefore appear in the educational statistics published annually by the department of Public Instruction. This must not be forgotten by any one who desires to do justice to the province and to arrive at fair conclusions with regard to its school system and results.

profitable. Montreal leads the way in this progressive movement with eighteen classes and nine hundred students of all categories. The St Jean-Baptiste Association instituted public lectures in 1895 that have made the Monument National a true business college.

There is also in Montreal a school for male deaf-mutes (with 139 pupils), another for female deaf-mutes (with 271 pupils), and one for the blind (with 55 pupils). These schools are under the direction, respectively, of the Clercs de Saint-Viateur, the Sisters of Providence, and the Grey Nuns. Furthermore, education of one kind or another finds a place in all public and private charitable organizations, in orphanages, crèches for waifs and strays, alms-houses, hospitals, benevolent societies, homes, *conférences de St Vincent-de-Paul*, etc.

The finishing touch to this imposing edifice of school and after-school education has just been added in the foundation of special commercial and industrial institutions. In 1910 the provincial legislature opened Schools of Higher Commercial Study (*Écoles des Hautes Études Commerciales*), on the model of similar institutions in Europe, for the special study, with the best possible equipment, of international commerce, trades, and manufactures. These were followed by the inauguration of higher technical education in preparation for industrial careers properly so called. In Montreal (1911) and in Quebec (1912) fine buildings were erected at great expense by the government for educational purposes. In these pupils receive practical teaching in manufactures of all kinds, carpentry, drawing, founding, iron-working, millwrighting and electricity.

These excellent results must be attributed in part to the normal movement, which has been extremely active since 1889, when the Jacques-Cartier Normal School opened a department for women teachers and entrusted it to the Sisters of the Congregation. This marked the beginning of a great advance in this movement, an advance that still continues ; it led to the foundation of several normal schools for women teachers in the most important towns of the province. The Ursulines inaugurated the work at Rimouski

(1906) and Three Rivers (1908); the Sisters of the Good Shepherd at Chicoutimi (1907); the Nuns of the Assumption at Nicolet (1907); the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary at Valleyfield (1908); the Grey Sisters at Hull (1910), and the Ladies of the Congregation at Joliette (1911). The foundation of similar schools at Sherbrooke, St Jerome, and Timiskaming is imminent. All the post-normal institutions have profited by the general impulse that the training of teachers has received.

The teachers' retiring fund, reorganized by the law of 1880, is one of the most beneficial mutual societies in the province. Its annual income has risen to $73,000, $40,000 of which is granted by the government. In the year 1910 it distributed the considerable sum of $72,000 among more than seven hundred pensioners.

The *Journal de l'Instruction publique* ceased publication in June 1879. Professors in the primary schools at once hastened to fill the gap made by the disappearance of Chauveau's review, which had had a literary and historical, as well as an educational value. On January 1, 1880, two new publications appeared simultaneously, the *École primaire* at Quebec (it changed its name in the next year to *Enseignement primaire*) and the *Journal de l'Éducation* at Montreal, which soon gave way to the *Journal de l'Instruction publique*. This last, edited by professional teachers, realized the type of educational review required by the teacher for daily use. It ceased publication in 1897. A second *Journal de l'Éducation* appeared in Quebec in 1881 but lived only one year. Since 1898 the *Enseignement primaire*, a monthly review of sixty-four pages, has been sent free to all schools of the province—5548 in 1909—and has proved of great value to the teacher, since it includes articles of an eminently practical nature on a wide range of educational subjects.

The inspectorship has been called 'the mainspring' of the Quebec school system. In 1910 it was improved by increasing the number of Catholic inspectoral districts to thirty-nine and by requiring the inspectors to visit the classes twice a year. In 1908 the government appointed an inspector-general for the whole province. The chief duties

of this officer are to control the work done by the inspectors and to make an annual visit to the normal schools. Regular meetings of the inspectors were instituted about 1885. The first educational congresses of the rural teachers, and especially the district association meetings which are held once a year for a week in the chief towns of the province and to which gather hundreds of teaching sisters and lay teachers, were inaugurated in Montreal in 1901, and have since that date met in Quebec, Sherbrooke, Three Rivers, Nicolet, Joliette, St Hyacinthe, etc.

The method of granting teachers' certificates has long since been reformed. Local patronage, the want of school teachers, the scarcity of normal schools were all reasons that persuaded the different committees charged with judging the qualifications of the candidates to be lenient. The inconvenience of this decentralized system was universally admitted. And so in 1898 the twenty-four boards of examiners were replaced by a central board consisting of ten examiners, this body alone being authorized to grant certificates giving permanent permission to teach throughout the province. The teacher's certificate thereby gained in value and prestige. Several of the religious congregations accepted these conditions of their own accord, and, in girls' boarding-schools especially, the certificate is considered a worthy finishing touch to the elementary studies. The teaching career offers better prospects to-day than ever before. Montreal has begun a movement for increasing the salaries of the instructors. By offering bonuses to the school corporations the provincial government has for some fifteen years been making praiseworthy efforts to improve the material status of the teacher. Even the supplementary work done in connection with the primary schools—the school gardens, savings banks, holiday settlements and parish societies—has not been forgotten by the school commissioners.

Lastly, the adult classes or evening schools have been regularly in operation since 1889. Every one has realized their usefulness now that immigrants from Europe pour into the cities, especially Montreal.

In conclusion, it may be claimed that the importance and intellectual value of the educational institutions of Quebec, often founded and maintained as they were by the generosity of a population ever hungry for instruction, are not inferior to those of the sister provinces. It should be noted that, in spite of the absence of any compulsory law, it is still ancient Quebec that has the highest school attendance in the Dominion (77·53 per cent in 1910-11).

Neither lack of resources nor the economic conditions of a poor and widely distributed population, not even the pronounced opposition of the government, have prevented the people from providing their children with the best instruction that they could obtain. The educational legislation of the province, freedom of teaching, the establishment of a dual system, and practically all elementary, higher and convent training—all this has been accomplished during the last sixty years by a few enlightened men.

Above all, French-Canadian Quebec remains faithful in matters of education to the teaching of the church. Religious neutrality is repugnant to her traditions and beliefs, and she has never allowed herself to be deceived by fair words about educational necessity that so often conceal, in other countries, the boldest attacks upon religious teaching in the schools. The Province of Quebec has ever respected the rights of racial minorities within its boundaries to education. For herself Quebec has not, and can never have, any educational question over which the different elements of her population will fight. She is one of the few provinces of the Dominion that have been able to lay down and to carry out a scheme of education that respects all rights and claims, and encourages the spread of knowledge in every field.

A. Desrosiers

ENGLISH EDUCATION

ENGLISH EDUCATION

In the Eighteenth Century

IT is not intended that this article should deal in any exhaustive and critical way with the laws or movements that have affected the whole population of the Province of Quebec, for this could not be done without repeating much that is said in the contribution in this section concerning Roman Catholic education since 1763. On the other hand, it should be recognized that references to general questions and to the relations between the majority and the minority must be made in order to secure a consecutive narrative, and that in consequence repetitions will be unavoidable, especially in regard to the various education acts that have been passed from time to time. It is hoped that it will be of advantage to the reader to notice the different phases of the same subject as exhibited by men who endeavour to represent the thoughts and ideals of their respective co-religionists.

The Protestants of the Province of Quebec one hundred and fifty years after the Cession of Canada to England number only some 280,000 souls in a population of over two millions. Yet their achievements in industrial, commercial, professional and educational life have made them a considerable factor in the progress of their province and of the nation. The fact that they have been a minority among a people of another race, religion and language, of different social customs, and at first of different political training and aspirations, has not handicapped them in the struggle for wealth and position, but it has put a heavy drag on their efforts to secure adequate educational advantages for themselves and their children.

In all the activities of life in which co-operation is essential, minorities suffer relatively even when accorded the fullest

liberty to work out their own problems. While, therefore, the Protestants of Quebec are few, the history of their educational struggles and achievements in peculiar circumstances excites an interest out of all proportion to their numbers.

The first English residents in Canada were functionaries for civil administration and officers and men of the army. They were soon succeeded by traders and speculators, who were attracted to Canada by its vast natural resources, and by the new opportunities for gaining wealth. Governor Murray in 1765, when there were only nineteen Protestant families in Quebec and Montreal, described them, as is well known, in very unflattering terms, which perhaps were not wholly deserved. It is in any case safe to assume that the later arrivals represented in education the average of their classes in England. They undoubtedly had, too, the educational ideals and policies of their homeland. There two ancient universities and many public schools existed for the benefit of the higher classes who could afford the cost. These institutions were heavily endowed.

The schools of the common people, on the other hand, were provided by the church or maintained by voluntary and associated effort. Of state intervention or support there was none. In fact, it was not until seventy years after the cession of Canada that the first state subsidy was granted in England for elementary education. In the new country endowments could not be expected, nor could much be looked for among the small English-speaking population in the way of religious and philanthropic provision for education. The social and political outlook of England gave no hint of direction in the conditions prevailing in Canada. As was natural, families were few in Canada in proportion to the adult population. For the few children elementary schools were provided in the cities at an early date. It seems that the first English teacher in Quebec was a sergeant in the regular army who was detailed to perform the duty of instructing the youth in the arts of peace, and that he acted not only as the regimental schoolmaster but as the teacher of all who wished to come to him. This act involved the principle of state supervision and state aid—a principle soon to be invoked by the English colonists.

Not satisfied with the means of procuring an education for their children, especially education of an advanced character, they agitated for the establishment of some sort of governmental system. Seeing the need among the French for assistance to their institutions, which had suffered during the distressful time preceding and during the war, the proposal was for a system broad enough to include all.

On May 31, 1787, a committee of the council of the province was appointed and charged with the duty of reporting 'with all convenient speed, the best mode of remedying the defects of education, and an estimate of the expense and by what means it may be defrayed.' Of this committee five were English Protestants and four French-Canadian Roman Catholics. Considering the scope of the proposed inquiry, this was not a promising beginning.

After deliberating two years and a half, a unanimous report was presented. This report recommended (1) the erection without delay of parish or village free schools throughout the province in which the tuition should be limited to reading, writing and ciphering; (2) the establishment in the central or county town of each district of a free school in which the instruction should extend to all the rules of arithmetic, the languages, grammar, book-keeping, gauging, navigation, surveying, and the practical branches of the mathematics; (3) the erection of a 'collegiate institution for cultivating the liberal arts and sciences usually taught in the European Universities, the Theology of Christians excepted.' The final expression of opinion in the report was to the effect that the charter of the proposed college should wisely provide against the perversion of the institution to any sectarian peculiarities.

The only other feature of this report that need be noticed here was the declaration that for the village free schools an act of the legislature would be required 'rating each parish in assessments for the free schools of its own district.'

Considering the date of this report and the state of the most enlightened public opinion of the time, one must admit that it was broad and progressive in its spirit, but considering the attitude taken, even then, by the Roman hierarchy, it is

evident that it was far too sanguine. In short, with due respect to the four Roman Catholic members of the committee, it was a document conceived and developed from the Protestant point of view. Monseigneur Hubert, Bishop of Quebec, to whom questions had been submitted, and whose opinions had been sought by the committee, thanked the Almighty for having inspired the design of a university for his native country, and offered prayers for the execution of it. This appears in the first paragraph of his letter of November 18, 1789. In the rest of his letter he brings forward facts and considerations that show him to have been opposed to the establishment of the proposed university. For this he was held up to ridicule by his coadjutor, Monseigneur Bailly, after the letter was made public. The latter bishop gave strong support to the recommendations of the committee in a letter that would have been worthy of respect had it not been so lacking in that quality in regard to his colleague, Monseigneur Hubert. An unprejudiced observer cannot, to-day at any rate, fail to see that Hubert really wanted a university, but not the kind that was proposed. The term 'Godless school' was not in use in 1789, but the thing was as obnoxious then to the Bishop of Quebec as it is to his successor to-day.

No guarantees such as he considered to be essential for the protection of the faith of his flock were offered, and in consequence the first well-meant but badly conceived effort on the part of the government of the province to promote education passed away, leaving as a result only a few pages of history.

It would not be a full statement of the fact to declare that the opposition of Bishop Hubert was the sole cause of the inaction that succeeded the report. Future efforts and agitation for state aid to education were barren of results for another twelve years, when an act was passed, which was first put into operation after the lapse of another seventeen years.

In fact, the governments of the time have been charged with being indifferent to the education of the people of French-Canadian origin, and even with being antagonistic to any scheme of education that would apply to the whole population. This alleged attitude has been construed as

being particularly hostile to the French Canadians. Such a view is unjust. Well into the first half of the nineteenth century there was no general feeling in England that all the people should receive an education. The toilers of the land and sea should be moral and Christian, of course, but education would only serve the bad purpose of making them dissatisfied with the estate into which it had pleased Providence that they should be born. The upper classes needed the culture and the many other advantages of a classical education. It does not appear that these views were so pronounced in the old-country element of Canada as in England. Still, they existed in a modified form and they account in a large measure for the apathy that was shown by those to whom alone the people could look at that time for effective financial aid to education.

In 1793 the first English bishop, the Right Rev. Jacob Mountain, arrived in Quebec. He immediately began to concern himself with questions of national as well as with those of ecclesiastical import. In October 1799 he wrote in the following terms to the lieutenant-governor, Sir Robert Shore Milnes:

> I trust that I shall not be thought to deviate from the duties more particularly assigned to me if I presume to solicit Your Excellency's attention to the disadvantages under which the Province has laboured for the want of proper schools for the education of children both of higher and lower orders. . . . Let me be permitted to suggest, then, the danger which may result to the political principles and the future character, as subjects, of such of our young men, among the higher ranks, as the exigency of the case obliges their parents to send to the colleges of the United States, in which, most assuredly, they are not likely to imbibe that attachment to our Constitution, that veneration for the Government of their country, and that loyalty to the King, to which it is so peculiarly necessary to give all the advantages of early predilection. . . . To obviate this danger it would be expedient to found at least one good Grammar School in this Province, and to invite from England able masters by the liberality of the endowment. . . .

In April 1800 a copy of the letter from which this extract is taken was sent to the Duke of Portland with a recommendation that the plan suggested by the bishop should be adopted, and that waste lands should be appropriated for the purpose of making a fund for the establishment of government schools.

Further correspondence followed until Lord Hobart, colonial secretary, informed Sir Robert Milnes in 1803 that His Majesty had 'been graciously pleased to consent that appropriations of land to the extent that may be necessary for the foundation and endowment of one Seminary to be established at Quebec, and of one Seminary at Montreal, should be made, and that the necessary measures may immediately be taken for carrying the plan into execution.'

Owing to the European wars at the time, the British ministers were too much occupied with their home affairs to give further thought to education in Canada, and owing, probably, to the dissensions in the province, the executive council did not reopen communication on the subject of public education until 1812.

War with the United States being almost immediately declared, the promise to establish a seminary in Quebec and one in Montreal was not made effective till 1816, and the agreement to appropriate lands for the endowment of these institutions was never fulfilled.

In order to make a convenient compromise between a chronological and a topical narrative it is best to leave the history of these two institutions, afterwards known as the Royal Grammar Schools, until we have dealt with the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, which in virtue of its charter exercised a supervision over them.

The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning

The first house of assembly that was ever convened in Lower Canada (1793) presented an address to the governor upon the subject of education. The crown was urged to relinquish its claim upon the forfeited estates of the Jesuits in favour of the legislature, which would devote the revenue

from them to the purposes of education. No reply came until the subject was similarly brought forward in 1801.

On this occasion the governor, in his reply to the address, used the following words :

> With great satisfaction I have to inform you that His Majesty from his paternal regard for the welfare and prosperity of his subjects in this colony, has been graciously pleased to give directions for the establishing of a competent number of free schools for the instruction of their children in the first rudiments of useful learning and in the English tongue, and also as occasion may require for foundations of a more enlarged and comprehensive nature, and His Majesty has been further pleased to signify his royal intention that a suitable proportion of the lands of the Crown should be set apart and the revenue thereof applied to such purposes.

Although this was an unsatisfactory reply to the petition for the Jesuits' estates, the promise of crown lands for educational endowment gave entire satisfaction. During the session of 1801, on the strength of this promise, an act was passed which brought into existence the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. The preamble recited again the royal intention to endow free schools and higher educational institutions with crown lands.

By this act the governor was empowered to appoint a board of trustees with corporate powers, a president and other officers. These were required to supervise all schools in the province and to administer all the property of the corporation. The governor was further empowered to erect free parish schools through the agency of two or more commissioners resident in the county where the school was to be.

The administrative machinery was very complicated. In short, the governor appointed commissioners, the commissioners chose sites, purchased them and conveyed them to the Royal Institution ; the commissioners required the churchwardens of the parish, or any two of them, to estimate the cost of the schoolhouse and apartments for teachers and to assess the inhabitants ; the churchwardens were to enforce payment of the assessments, and in case of default distress

warrants were to be issued and the goods of the defaulter were to be sold to the full satisfaction of his obligation. The schoolmasters were appointed under commission from the governor, who fixed their salaries and dismissed them or removed them at pleasure. This Royal Institution failed to meet the large expectations that its creation excited. In the first place, the act was inoperative until 1818. Notwithstanding the fact that the executive council conceded sixteen townships in 1803 for education, and that the king sanctioned the gift of twenty thousand acres to each of the Royal Grammar Schools to be established in Montreal and Quebec, no practical effect was given to the several definite official promises of land endowments, nor was any provision made for financial support. However, in the year 1818 the Royal Institution was duly organized under letters patent.

Eighteen trustees were nominated by the crown, of whom fourteen were Protestants, and of these Protestants three were officials in Upper Canada. The president was the Anglican bishop and the secretary was a teacher who was preparing to take, and did subsequently take, orders in the Anglican Church. Most of the masters appointed by the Institution came from England and could neither speak the French language nor readily adapt themselves to the ways of the country. And yet this was to be a provincial institution, supported by the people as a whole, and serving the French Roman Catholics as well as the English Protestants. How intelligent, educated men could be so unreasonable as to expect success under such management is understood only by those who know the political history and ambitions of the period preceding the troublous times of 1837. Certain it is that the confidence of the Roman Catholics was never given to the Institution. Monseigneur Plessis even went so far as to order his clergy to oppose the establishment of these schools in their parishes. The feeling of resentment on the part of the French Canadians can best be judged by a passage in Meilleur's *Mémorial de l'Éducation.* Looking back over a period of nearly forty years since he retired from political life to become a zealous and fair-minded superintendent of Education, Meilleur declares that the teachers were, in the

majority of cases, young clergymen, or young men intending to become such, in the Church of England, who practised school teaching as a means of subsistence or as a means of proselytism. The latter part of this charge is not susceptible of proof, but it represented the belief and the feelings of the French Canadians in regard to the objects of the government and the Royal Institution. The present writer has examined the original lists of teachers authorized by the Institution, and has compared them with the early clergy lists. The examination shows that it was only a minority that became members of the clergy, in this province at any rate. It must be remembered that seventy-five years ago and even much later, most of the English professional men who came from the farm or village had been teachers for a few terms—lawyers, doctors and notaries not less than clergymen—but in such cases no ulterior religious motives were likely to be imputed even by a sensitive population.

The charge of an attempt or a desire to proselytize cannot be supported against the Royal Institution, as its records and correspondence amply show. A letter written by the Rev. R. Q. Short of Three Rivers in 1822 showed his anxiety to secure the co-operation of the curé, whom he suspected of being unsympathetic and unwilling to act as school visitor. The trustees of the Institution, whose advice was sought, replied in a friendly way, their letter finishing with the philosophic observation that if the curé will not co-operate, Short must endeavour to do as well as he can without the curé's assistance. Moreover, one of the rules of the Institution declares that each school shall be 'under the immediate inspection of the Clergy of that Religion which is possessed by the inhabitants of the spot—or where the inhabitants are of a mixed description the clergy of each church shall have the superintendence over the children of their respective communions.'

While it must be insisted that the Royal Institution was correct in its attitude towards the religious convictions of the French Canadians, it must also be admitted that there was a well-known and a general belief on the part of the English that their language should and would be eventually adopted

by all. This gave offence to the French Roman Catholic element, which even then had at least a feeling that their language, their religion and their customs were inseparable. In consequence they had a threefold reason for suspicion, aloofness and hostility.

Another charge echoed by Meilleur is that young Anglican missionaries were sent as teachers into the French parishes where there were hardly ten Protestant families of British origin and not all of these Anglicans. The records of the Royal Institution show that there was ground for complaint in this respect, but, when it is remembered that these teachers were sent only on petition from the parents concerned, the reproach to the Institution becomes attenuated.

The records of the Institution disclose the fact that the class of masters left much to be desired. In one year, 1820, a master was dismissed from Point Levy for cause; one in Douglastown was admonished to be more diligent and circumspect; a third was dismissed for incompetence as shown by a letter 'shockingly written'; still another, in Eaton, was dismissed for having his school closed for a considerable time; and, finally, the master in New Carlisle was retired because he was too old to keep his school open in winter.

It is clear that it was quite impossible to expect co-operation on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy and people when so little was done to meet their conscientious scruples by supplying schools that they could accept.

It has been said that even if the Institution failed in its duty to the religious majority, yet it did much to diffuse education among the minority during its short life of activity.

Let us examine this side of the question. Operations were begun in 1818. Four years later a circular letter was sent to thirty-one schoolmasters, of whom twenty-three were English. Apparently there were then thirty-one schools under the control of the Institution. A list of all the masters authorized to teach at any time, by the Institution, contains only seventy-one names. Only eighty-four schools were ever conducted by it, and nearly all of these had disappeared before 1841. In 1838 it had thirty-seven schools in operation, very few of them in the Eastern Townships or in the other parts

of the province where there was a solid English population. It surely cannot be said that this indicates anything like creditable work. The fact is that the schools of royal foundation were never popular with the English people. Several attempts were made, as shown by the minutes of the board of trustees, to enforce the legal provision that all schoolhouses should, after being erected and paid for by the inhabitants, be vested in the Institution. In some cases much pressure had to be made in order to ensure compliance with this unpopular feature of the law. Moreover, schools could be established in any parish or township only on the petition of the majority of the inhabitants thereof, or on the request of a certain number of them who would bind themselves to pay for it. In many places where there were flourishing schools during the period from 1818 to 1840 the inhabitants preferred local ownership of property, voluntary contributions and local control to anything the Institution could offer under its act of incorporation. In fact, it had never enough money for expansion during its troubled existence as an active educational agency, and finally, after the school acts of 1841 and 1846 came into operation, it was left without resources.

General Story of Early English Education

It is now necessary to retrace our steps in order to pick up the threads of the tangled story of English education in the early days apart from the Royal Institution. Until 1846 there was no permanent general system of education, and no uniformity of progress among the English who were scattered throughout the province. Brief regional treatment is therefore necessary.

In the year 1792 Lower Canada was subdivided into districts, counties and townships, and surveys were begun in what is now called the Eastern Townships. These surveys were pretty well completed by the end of the century, and the lands were thrown open to settlers. Up to this time an unbroken forest covered the whole of the territory now occupied by prosperous farmers or by no less prosperous dwellers in beautiful towns and villages. But when it became

known that large grants of land would be made by the crown to settlers, a movement set in from Vermont and New Hampshire, where the soil was inferior. In an appendix to Lord Durham's Report the assistant commissioners of municipal inquiry say: 'The bulk of the population of the townships is composed of old American loyalists and more recent settlers from the United States; the remainder are emigrants from Britain.' Popular histories have constantly repeated the error contained in the first phrase just quoted, until, apparently, every one but natives of the Townships has accepted the fable. It is often said, even to-day, that the early settlers of the Eastern Townships were United Empire Loyalists who, harassed at home, desired to leave uncongenial surroundings to find again an abiding-place under the crown. This is true only to a very limited extent. They were, for the most part, plain New England men who had fought the British, yet had no prejudice against British land grants. They were a stern and hardy race of men who brought character as well as brain and sinew into their new country. Of the old Puritan stock, they were animated by high ideals in regard to education and had been trained to self-government. They left fairly good schools behind them, and coming into the forest they adhered to the principles so well illustrated by the Massachusetts law of 1647, which in quaint language ordered that every township 'after the Lord has increased them to the number of fifty householders' should provide a schoolmaster 'to teach all such children as resort to him to write and read,' and the wages of the schoolmaster were to be paid by the parents and masters of the children 'or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as a major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint.' The same law provides for grammar schools, to fit pupils for the university, in townships having one hundred families or householders.

Beginning about the year 1793, these people penetrated into Canada, forming small settlements in the present counties of Stanstead, Brome, Shefford, Compton and Richmond. This immigration continued for some twenty-five years, when it became irregular and finally ceased.

An outstanding feature of the struggles of these men to

hew out homes for themselves was the sacrifice they made for education. Probably few of them could have given economic reasons for the faith that was in them, but they undoubtedly had the conviction that education was a necessity of life. It is significant, too, that the school preceded the church—in fact that the schoolhouse was the meeting-place for worship long before any church building was erected.

Between 1793 and the close of the century small settlements were made at Stanstead Plain, Rock Island, Barnston, East Hatley, Bolton, Potton, Brome Corners and a few other places. It is difficult to get the dates upon which individual schools were first opened, yet it is known that in 1800 Stanstead and Hatley had three or four schools each, Barnston one or two, and the other places had their schoolhouses as soon as fifteen or twenty children could be brought together. Shipton had its first schoolhouse in 1807, Sutton in 1808, Shefford in 1812, but even before these dates it is likely that some education was provided. It is certain that in the smaller settlements teachers occupied rooms of the rude dwellings in which to hold their classes, and frequently passed from one house to another that the inconvenience they caused should be equitably distributed. In many instances where schools were distant, the mothers taught their younger children the alphabet and reading. During the summer months they were sometimes taught on a barn floor, and in one case in the loft of a brewery. As the settlements increased in population the log schoolhouse or, less frequently, the stone schoolhouse was built. The procedure was simple. Some leading man would convene a meeting of his neighbours, who would choose a site for a schoolhouse, subscribe to the cost of it in money or labour, and proceed to construct it. It is strange that so few difficulties arose. The general opinion prevailed. Every man knew that among so few any obstinate opposition would be fatal to the project that was so valued by all.

The school was organized and carried on with equal simplicity. Some one was asked to find a teacher, to whom the customary salary, varying from five to nine dollars a month,

would be paid. The teacher had the privilege of free board under a system of 'boarding around,' which continued as a custom in the rural parts of the Eastern Townships until about the year 1885. By this system the teacher received board and lodging from the various parents in proportion to the number of children in each family. Fuel was provided for the school by the parents in turn upon the same principle. The interior of the schoolhouse was rude and comfortless. Seats were at first made of hewn logs and had neither desk nor back. Pupils learned to write by going in turn to a rough table. Of what we call school equipment there was none. The qualifications of the teachers were not tested in any way, but they were judged by common sense and reputation. If the teacher stood the supreme test of the classroom, well and good ; if he did not, the place was given to another. The course of study was simple ; until higher schools were provided it consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic. The school year was divided into two terms of four months each. The teacher of the summer school was usually a young woman, who, being engaged for only one term, gave place to a male teacher, who was considered necessary for the winter term, when the young men were free to attend. The attendance was always large, generally fifty or more, and the school age was limited only by the wishes of the pupil and his parents. In consequence, there were not infrequently scenes of disorder and violence from which the male teacher emerged either victorious or ready to resign his charge.

Undoubtedly much can be explained by saying that the country had the roughness characteristic of pioneer days everywhere, and that the young men displayed it in the school as their elders did in the ordinary relations of life. But this does not fairly represent the case. All the teachers were untrained, nearly all were inexperienced, and in consequence of their own limited education they were frequently unable to keep in advance of the brightest pupils. This all made for inefficiency and disorder.

Moreover, the 'district' school was ungraded and the attendance was large. The ages of pupils not infrequently

ranged from six to twenty years in the same school. The present writer remembers a village elementary school, presided over by one female teacher, which forty-five years ago was attended by several young men twenty years of age or more, along with thirty or forty younger pupils. Under such circumstances it was only a strong personality that could control the pupils and teach effectively.

It would appear that the schools increased with the population and that they were within reach of nearly all the children from the date of the first settlements. Stanstead and Shefford Counties may be used as perhaps the most favourable illustrations. In 1821 the former had an estimated population of 8272 and the latter 4467. They had respectively thirty-two and seventeen schools, which would give one school for every fifty pupils.

Until the year 1829 the only schools of a higher grade in the Eastern Townships were kept by clergymen who took a few pupils for private tuition in the higher branches of learning. In this year an elementary school act was passed under which an impetus was given to education throughout the province. It provided a grant of eighty dollars a year for three years to each school teacher, not under control of the Royal Institution, who taught not less than twenty pupils. An additional payment of two dollars per pupil was to be made for a limited number of free pupils. This act was general in its application ; that is, it assumed the common school principle, and notwithstanding the previous difficulty of getting the Roman Catholics and the Protestants to work together in educational matters, it made no provision for separation. However, as the two populations were pretty well segregated everywhere except in the cities of Quebec and Montreal, that was not a very serious matter. Five trustees were to be elected by the landowners of each parish, section or township to control the school and to receive and account for public moneys. Assistance was offered towards the erection of schoolhouses, two hundred dollars being the maximum grant for this purpose.

The relief afforded by this act of 1829 to those who were voluntarily supporting their schools without government

assistance determined the inhabitants of two places not far distant to undertake the erection of schoolhouses for higher education. The honour of priority can be given neither to Stanstead nor to East Hatley. In the same year Stanstead Seminary and Charleston Academy[1] (Hatley) were erected at a cost of $3200 and $3000 respectively. The land for the site of Stanstead Seminary was given by J. Langdon of Montpelier, Vermont, and William Grannis of Stanstead. The cost of the building was provided by private subscription, under the form of the purchase of shares. In 1830 a grant of $800 was made by the provincial legislature towards the maintenance of the institution, which was reduced later to $400 per annum. Charleston Academy was founded under similar circumstances and received equal government aid. The Stanstead people proposed that for five years their seminary should receive only young women if the Charleston Academy would be restricted to the education of young men during the same period. This proposal, although it would have inured to the material advantage of both institutions, and more particularly to that of Charleston, was not accepted. For many years these two institutions were practically the only classical schools in the Eastern Townships, and enjoyed a high reputation. In them were educated many young men who afterwards in their professions and in politics were the leaders of English thought in the province.

The early teachers in these schools were a superior class of men, many being graduates of Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, or of the University of Vermont. Although the prestige of these schools drew students from all parts of the Eastern Townships, and even from Northern Vermont, they did not have the field entirely to themselves. Small classical schools of a semi-private nature existed in many centres but passed away with the removal of their founders, leaving no record of their existence behind them.

[1] The term 'seminary' and the word 'academy,' the latter of which is still in common and legal use in the province, were both borrowed from the New England States, and conveyed the same meaning as the words 'high school' or 'collegiate institute' now convey in the other provinces of Canada.

The early Anglican bishops saw that it was necessary for many reasons to train native Canadians for missionary and clerical work instead of relying continuously and entirely on the homeland. The difficulty in the way of training suitable young men was of a twofold character. It was that of providing both secular and theological education at a time when there was no university, no divinity school, and no classical school other than the two just mentioned and the grammar schools and private schools of Quebec and Montreal. The bishop therefore hit upon the plan of bringing from England and Ireland a few young men who had distinguished themselves in their universities and who seemed qualified for the work of teaching. Parishes were assigned to them, and candidates for holy orders were directed to read under their supervision. Inasmuch as it was necessary to teach these readers, always few in number, the clergymen conceived the idea of receiving other young men into their secular classes for a reasonable consideration. This they could do without materially increasing their work or encroaching upon their time. In this way Shefford Academy[1] was founded by the Rev. Andrew Balfour in 1838, and from that date it seems to have had an uninterrupted existence. A similar school was carried on in Three Rivers by the Rev. S. S. Wood for some years. In fact, it was the first intention of the Bishop of Quebec to make Three Rivers the seat of a theological college when in 1841 three students were entrusted to Wood by the bishop for education and training. The mistake of planting an Anglican theological college in a distinctly Roman Catholic and French centre was so plain that in 1843 the school was transferred to Lennoxville, where it became the nucleus of Bishop's College. Other schools of this character, as well as schools organized by local clergymen as private or as church schools, had a brief, uncertain, but useful existence in various parts of the province.

Although the Eastern Townships furnish a good example of educational zeal under the repressing influence of pioneer

[1] In early reports 1834 is given as the date of the foundation of this institution. This date may be correct, but the writer has failed to verify it. Balfour certainly was not master until 1838.

life, other parts of the province were working out their problems at the same time and under somewhat similar conditions. Let us now turn to that part of the province which lies at the west of the Richelieu River on the New York border, to Argenteuil County on the Ottawa, and to what are now the counties of Ottawa and Pontiac. What is now Huntingdon County was settled by English-speaking people even earlier than the Eastern Townships. The first settlers were a few United Empire Loyalists and a few stragglers from the stream of migration that set in at the close of the eighteenth century from the New England States towards the richer lands as far west as the Genesee valley. These were followed by old-country immigrants in such numbers before 1820 as to give to the Huntingdon district the character that it has maintained to the present day. The English-speaking people of this district, which includes parts of Beauharnois and Chateauguay Counties, differ even now from the Eastern Townships people in speech and manner, their Scottish and Irish characteristics being predominant. The early schools in these counties, unlike those in the Eastern Townships, were invariably taught by a master. In fact, for the first quarter of the nineteenth century the propriety or the possibility of engaging women as teachers seems never to have occurred to these people. Much that has been said of the schools in the Eastern Townships can be said of those now under consideration. For many years the schools of these counties have been inferior to none in the province and superior to most, but in the early years they were in a sad condition, not only on account of the wretched accommodation the schoolhouses afforded, but because of the character of the masters. Sellar, in his *History of Huntingdon, Chateaugay and Beauharnois*, a valuable contribution to the early history of the province, gives a vivid picture of the institutions in the following words :

> The schools of these early days were uniformly bad. When a man was too lazy or too weak to wield an axe, he took to teaching without the slightest regard to his qualifications for the position. Men who could not read words of many syllables and whose writing was atrocious,

> were installed as masters of schools. Worse than their ignorance were the bad habits that characterized the majority, for drunkenness was common, and a teacher seen without a quid of tobacco in his mouth or smoking while setting a copy was exceptional.

In the same graphic fashion Sellar continues his description of the teacher, of the meagre course of study, of the lack of text-books, of the cold log schoolhouses and of the long weary tramp of the pupils through snow and mud to the district school.

The front part of Argenteuil County was settled principally by Scottish people, although these had been preceded by some United States immigrants before the beginning of the nineteenth century, while Hull Township was settled by one Philemon Wright, who with nine others came from Massachusetts to take up the land for which he received a patent in 1806.

Here, too, schools preceded churches, but were used for religious services. Philemon Wright testified before a committee of the house of assembly in 1821 that there were three schools in Hull, with an attendance of one hundred and fifty pupils, who were taught reading, writing and arithmetic. The cities of Quebec and Montreal and the Gaspe coast were the only other places in the province having any considerable English population before the year 1841.

In the two cities, private schools of various grades supplied all the demands made upon them for accommodation. In Quebec a good classical school was established about the year 1804 by the Rev. Daniel Wilkie, a Scottish schoolmaster of much ability, and other similar schools contemporaneous with his were kept by masters of good repute in Quebec and Montreal.

The two Royal Grammar Schools of Montreal and Quebec were opened in 1816 and came under the control of the Royal Institution two years later. The British government appointed the Rev. Mr Burrage and Dr Skakel as masters in Quebec and Montreal respectively, and paid them out of funds derived from the Jesuits' estates. These schools were carried on without a change until 1839, when

the governor-general, Lord Sydenham, suspended the Quebec school and assigned a pension to Burrage.

The school in Montreal continued under Dr Skakel until his death in 1846. A year or two previous to this the High School of Montreal had been established by public-spirited citizens. It was housed in a commodious building, had ample playgrounds and boasted a staff of six masters. The directors of the High School petitioned the government for the grants that had been previously given to the Royal Grammar School or rather to its master, Dr Skakel. After consideration, the government concluded that 'the object sought by the Government thirty years ago in establishing a Grammar School in Montreal, may be most satisfactorily effected by conferring the appointment of Master of the Grammar School upon the Head Master of the High School.' Accordingly the Royal Grammar School, hitherto under the tuition of one master, whose class was held in an inconvenient schoolroom without the advantage of playgrounds, disappeared as a separate institution and became one with the High School, whose 'headmaster for the time being' became the master of the Grammar School. Later in the same year (1846) a petition of the directors of the High School of Quebec, which came into existence in 1843, was similarly dealt with. In both cases the high schools were obliged to educate not less than twenty free pupils yearly and to report to the government semi-annually. The grant which had been made almost continuously since 1832 by the government in lieu of payment on the Jesuits' estates funds was continued, that of Quebec being reduced for some years by £100, which was paid to Burrage as a pension. To the present day the sum of $2470 is voted annually by the legislature as a continuation of the original salaries of Burrage and Skakel, and is paid for the education of the free scholars that are appointed by the lieutenant-governor of the province, while the rectors of the High Schools of Quebec and Montreal are, in virtue of orders-in-council passed in 1846, masters of the Royal Grammar Schools.

Reference will be made later to these high schools, but it seems best to pass the chronological limits of this part of

the history of English education in order to connect the old institutions with the more recent.

In Montreal as well as in Quebec private schools were carried on, some of them having a good reputation and others an indifferent one. In both cities schools were organized by voluntary associations such as those known as the British and Colonial Church Schools, British and Canadian Schools, and National Schools. These were largely attended and efficiently conducted. In fact, Mr Mills, the secretary of the Royal Institution, advised in 1824, when giving evidence before a legislative committee, that 'each master, certainly for a parish that is English or principally so, should be obliged before he goes to his destination to attend at the National School at Quebec as long as is necessary for him to gain a correct idea of the system of education pursued there, and that he be directed to practise it so far as he is able in his own school.'

Space will not permit a further description or discussion of the various temporary acts that were passed or bills that were introduced in the legislature before the act of 1841. They were generally tentative, ineffective, and are of no interest except as they show the growth and development of the ideas that found expression in later years. But it seems necessary to express a definite opinion as to the state of English education, say in 1838, when the famous Report of Lord Durham was made, along with the more extensive and gloomy Report of Arthur Buller, brother of Charles Buller, on the state of education. What has already been written leads to conclusions that are somewhat at variance with the general tenor of the views expressed in both reports.

Lord Durham, after describing the 'general ignorance of the people,' by which he meant the general ignorance of the French Canadians, says: 'It only remains that I should add, that though the adults that had come from the Old Country are generally more or less educated, the English are hardly better off than the French for the means of education for their children, and indeed possess scarcely any, except in the cities.' Buller says: 'Go where you will, nevertheless, you will scarcely find a trace of education amongst the peasantry.' Many quotations might be given to show that

Lord Durham and Buller both believed French elementary education to be worthless except in the cities, and even in these 'many of the masters and mistresses are incompetent.' They admitted 'a singular abundance of a somewhat defective education which exists for the higher classes and which is solely in the hands of the Catholic priesthood.'

Undoubtedly the facilities for higher education, which were entirely due to the zeal and devotion of the Roman Catholic Church and which had been amply provided from the earliest days of the colony, were far superior to those within the reach of the Protestant population until long after the period which ends with the year 1841. Yet on the other hand the diffusion of elementary education among the English-speaking population was far wider than would be gathered from the quotations just made. It would take the writer far beyond his proper limits were he to consider the justice of the views held by Lord Durham and Buller in regard to education among the French Canadians, but no controversial point should be raised by the statement that the English-speaking population had through its own exertions provided an elementary education which was far more widely diffused and efficient than that ascribed to the French people, the peasantry in particular, in the brilliant but uneven and unpractical reports just cited. It is regrettable that the Report of Buller was made upon insufficient evidence as to fact. He set out to make extensive inquiries by means of circular letters, but receiving only a few replies, he relied chiefly for his facts upon the evidence he gathered from official documents and from people whom he was able to interview in the cities, or in their vicinity. In fact, he plainly states that he was unable for lack of time to carry out his intention of visiting the rural districts of the province.

Comparisons between the French and the English in their attitude towards education cannot be made in terms of blame or praise. On the one hand, there was a people who for over a century and a half had been neglected, exploited, and finally abandoned in time of distress by the mother country and left to the tender mercy of an aggressive race, different in

language, religion, customs and form of government. Until an adjustment could be made to new conditions, and until an understanding, if not a feeling of sympathy, could be established, educational progress was not to be expected without the impetus that should have come, but did not come, from a liberal and enlightened policy of state aid and direction. On the other hand, the English-speaking population had a different history behind it. The settlers from the United States came to Canada with a good education, considering their condition in life, and a great enthusiasm for learning. The Scottish people had passed through their parish schools at any rate, and were inferior to the United States element neither in education nor in their desire to have schools for their children. The English and the Irish brought their share of the advantages of education, and the latter, even when Roman Catholic in faith, united at this time with the Protestants, because of their language, and made the most of whatever school facilities their new country offered.

It is the writer's conviction, based upon original documents, upon reports, evidence given before legislative committees, interviews with old inhabitants, contemporaneous literature and letters, that from the earliest times the charge of illiteracy could not be laid against any considerable part of the adult English-speaking population of the Province of Quebec. An estimate of the percentage of illiteracy would be rash, and a denial of its existence under the trying conditions of pioneer life would be worse. Yet justice demands the explanation that by ' illiteracy ' is here meant the inability to read and write. The education given in the English ungraded rural schools, as judged by the standards of to-day, was poor, while that provided in the many English proprietary schools of Quebec and Montreal was not much better. Judged by the standards of a cultured man like Lord Durham, it would in both cases deserve severe censure. The strictures made by Buller upon the inadequacy of schools for higher, classical or commercial education, both as to their quality and as to their number, were quite justified. There was in fact nothing in the province like university education or professional training for the English-speaking

student except that provided in McGill College by its only faculty, that of medicine.

Few could afford to send their sons to England, but, notwithstanding the frequently expressed fear that young men would imbibe republican principles in the universities and colleges of the United States, many felt obliged to take the risk involved in sending them across the border for the sake of advantages that were denied them at home.

While, therefore, education was widely diffused among the English-speaking population, the average of attainment was low. Yet evidence is not wanting of considerable intellectual activity at this time. The attention of the people was not distracted by many subjects or rendered desultory by the reading of column after column of trivialities gathered daily from the four corners of the earth. Consequently what they read they remembered and discussed. Newspapers with a high standard of literary and educational excellence were established. The principal among these were the Quebec *Gazette*, founded in 1764, being the second newspaper in Canada, the Montreal *Gazette*, which was established in 1785, the Quebec *Mercury*, which first appeared in 1805, the Montreal *Herald* in 1811, the *British Colonist*, Stanstead, in 1823, the *Farmers' and Mechanics' Journal*, afterwards the Sherbrooke *Gazette*, in 1833. Other periodicals published before this last date were the Quebec *Star*, the *New Montreal Gazette*, the *Canadian Spectator*, the *Christian Sentinel* and the *Canadian Miscellany*, the last four being published in Montreal.

Libraries were established in several places. In fact, the books of any neighbourhood in the rural parts formed a small circulating library. Although they were subject to individual ownership, they passed freely from hand to hand and were eagerly read.

Of libraries in the proper sense the first was established in Quebec in the year 1785, and existed for many years. It was followed in 1824 by that of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, which has had an uninterrupted existence to the present day both as a society and as a library. The early transactions of this society, which is chiefly but not

exclusively English, are highly creditable to the scholarship and learning of the members. The papers and addresses delivered before it from time to time in the earlier days are equal in every way to those of more recent years and were more widely appreciated. In 1829 the Montreal Library, founded in 1797, and the Eclectic Library of the same place, were in existence. The Advocates' Library, naturally, was professional and not exclusively English, although it is significant that the list of officers in 1829 contained only one French name in six. This library was established in Montreal in 1828.

Perhaps the most interesting library, because the most significant, is one which was founded in 1815 in the wilderness at Shipton. Some thirty-five men scattered through six townships formed an association for the establishment of a library called, in honour of the late governor-in-chief of Canada, Craig's Union Library. The members were settlers from the United States, as their names show, twelve being original grantees. The act of association was made by a notary in good legal phraseology and in a neat hand. Twenty of the signatures that are found in the records are such as would indicate a careful training in penmanship. Only about one hundred and fifty books were purchased at first, but they were of a substantial and serious character, as a few of the titles will prove—*Works of Josephus*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, Cook's *Voyages*, *Sorrows of Werther*, Wilson's *Sermons*, *Life of Washington*, *Awful Beacon*, Buffon's *Natural History*, *Life of Wallace*, and the *Spectator*.

The Educational System

The educational system as it is to-day originated in the inexpernces and discussions that followed the ineffectual attempts from 1801 to 1841 to provide education for all the people. That experience had not been happy. The two Royal Grammar Schools were inadequate to the needs even of the two cities in which they were situated. The schools under the Royal Institution had been few, unpopular and inefficient. The act of 1829, amended and continued in

1832, expired in 1836 by its own provisions. As to the voluntary attempts in city and country to educate the youth, we have already seen how unsuccessful they were.

The state aid afforded by the acts of 1829 and 1832 gave an impulse to education in some places, while it became merely a substitute for, instead of an addition to, voluntary local effort in others. This fact was noticed and deplored in a report of the legislative committee on Education in 1831, which declared 'that they cannot but regret that they have had evidence that in several instances too much dependence has been placed on legislative aids, and in some cases to a degree which seems to have had the effect of relaxing the exertions which were formerly made,' and in 1836 the same committee went even further and said that 'the liberality of the legislature, far from having stimulated the efforts of the members of the institutions connected with education, appears on the contrary to have paralyzed them.' Of similar significance are the following extracts from the report of 1831: 'Your committee cannot too strongly impress upon the House the mischiefs which would result from such a dependence [on legislative grants], and placing the public money in the hands of societies or individuals practically liable to no sufficient responsibility, or regular or strict accountability, unless they at the same time have to apply a considerable portion of their own money along with that of the public. . . . To draw the money from the people by taxes, to be restored to them for these purposes, after undergoing all the diminution of the expenses of collection, management and waste, would soon impoverish them without effecting the object in view'; and in the following year the committee 'cannot conceive that it will ever be expedient to draw money from the industry of the people, by an expensive process, to be returned to them in greatly diminished amount, for objects for which they can apply it more certainly, more equitably, and with greater economy, under their own immediate control'; and still again in 1834 the committee hopes 'that the time is not far distant when the whole country will be persuaded that it is much better to trust to themselves for the discharge of the duty of affording

useful instruction to their offspring, rather than depend upon legislative appropriations.'

These are only a few striking quotations from among many that might be made from the various reports of the committee of Education to show that even the members of the legislature were really averse to placing education under central control. They had enjoyed complete control over the distribution of moneys voted for education and had not been obliged to render an account for them. In fact, they had in general exercised in an unworthy manner the great powers committed to them, and had made education a means of political corruption. All this gave a trend towards decentralization and towards local self-control and self-support. Before the experiences following the act of 1829, the sentiment of the public generally was not distinctly in favour of state aid to education. This may be seen in the current literature of the time. The Rev. Mr Burrage, master of the Royal Grammar School in Quebec, when giving evidence before a commission of Education in 1823, illustrated the general feeling of doubt as to the efficiency of government assistance. After pointing out what grave difficulties the English people of the Townships had to endure in order to educate their children, and after declaring that they could spare but little for the education of them, he admits that the 'anxiety which the Eastern Townships people express for education, and the sacrifices they make to procure it for their children are among the most marked characteristics of that population.' Arriving at this point, he says with the reserve so characteristic of the official mind, 'Under these circumstances, the legislature perhaps might extend them some relief, but of that it must be left alone to their wisdom to decide.'

However, the conviction that something must be done had become general among all leaders of thought. The Report of Lord Durham and that of Buller had their good effect. Indeed, some of the suggestions for the organization of a system given at the end of the Report of the latter were admirable, and were afterwards adopted. In the years 1840 and 1841 a series of letters was printed and widely circulated. These letters did much not only to stimulate

thought and discussion but to point the way for legislative action. The author was Charles Mondelet, afterwards a judge. It is significant that, although a Frenchman, he wrote his letters in English and had them translated. They were thus circulated among both populations. His suggestions and those of Buller show that they had studied many systems of education among democratic peoples, and that they were most impressed by the system of the State of New York. This system served as a model, which was followed with some deviations.

In 1841, after the union of the two provinces, the united legislature passed an important educational act. It was a great advance on what had already been done, and deserves to be called the beginning of the educational system in the province. That distinction is generally given, however, to the act of 1846, which corrected the serious mistakes of the original, became operative, and laid the foundation for the system as it is to-day. In fact, all the main features of that act are still retained, although the progress of time and the teachings of experience have brought many amendments that have made for better administration, and for the removal of causes of friction between the two populations.

The first act, that of 1841, needs to be considered only in regard to the elements that made for failure. At this time there was no municipal organization, but it was supplied in 1841 by a concurrent act. The municipal councillors were under this act appointed by the crown, and to them was given the power of taxation both for municipal and school purposes. School boards were elective, but their powers were limited and their members were little more than school visitors. Thus when the power of taxation for school purposes was placed in the hands of a body irresponsible to the people, and at a time when taxation for any purpose was unpopular and the democratic principles of local self-government were strongly held, nothing but failure could be expected. Dr Meilleur, the first superintendent of Education of the province, who had done much in the legislature in previous years for the promotion of education, laboured enthusi-

astically and incessantly amidst discouragement from all sides without being able to accomplish much beyond keeping the question under constant discussion in the press and among the people until the passage of the act of 1846.

The province was now divided into school municipalities, each township, city or town being a unit for educational administration. The qualified voters in each were required to elect a board of five school commissioners in the month of July, and it was the duty of this board to divide the municipality into a convenient number of school districts, to provide a schoolhouse and a teacher for each, to levy upon real estate a sufficient sum to meet the necessary expenses, and generally to manage the interior economy and the finances of their schools. It was provided, however, that they should in each case levy at least as large a sum in taxes as that granted by the government.

The principle of compulsion was a feature of this act. The ratepayers were required to elect their school commissioners. Should they fail to do so, the lieutenant-governor in council would, through the superintendent, appoint them. They had to levy taxes, to provide schools, and to enforce payment of school fees. Whether elected or appointed, any person who refused or neglected to perform his duties as school commissioner was liable to a fine for each offence. The people had to pay their taxes or be haled before the courts; fees had to be paid for all children of school age whether they attended or not.

A superintendent of Education for the province, already appointed, was continued in office and his duties were defined. Boards of examiners were provided for, to which teachers had to apply for certificates of qualification. This was all in striking and happy contrast to the previous attempts to establish a system of education.

This brief statement of the chief features of the act would be incomplete without a reference to the provision that was made for the protection of the religious convictions and scruples that had heretofore stood in the way of united educational endeavour in the province.

This school law of 1846 is based upon, or at any rate

tacitly accepts, the common school principle, a most admirable and most patriotic one when applied to a people having the same religion, or no religion at all, but absolutely impracticable with such fundamental differences as prevail in Quebec. Inasmuch as the French were Roman Catholics and the English were practically all Protestants, a separation on the lines of either language or religion followed the same course. The legislature in 1846 assumed the common school principle very distinctly by enacting that the commissioners might be of either religious faith ; at the same time provision was made for special cases in an article that may be summarized as follows : when in any municipality the regulations and arrangements made by the commissioners in the conduct of any school shall not be agreeable to any number whatever of the inhabitants professing a faith different from that of the majority of the inhabitants of such municipality, these persons so dissentient may collectively withdraw from the control of the school commissioners and elect three trustees, who shall provide schools for their children, have their share of school property, their proper proportion of government grants, receive from the commissioners the taxes levied upon the dissentients, and in other respects have the same powers and duties in regard to their own adherents as the school commissioners have in regard to theirs. This is not a provision to allow Protestants to establish separate schools, but to allow the religious minority in any municipality to do so. However, inasmuch as the Protestants are and always have been a minority in the province as a whole, they have become dissentient more frequently than the Roman Catholics.

From this clear recognition of the necessity, in the interests both of harmony and of efficiency, to give the right of separate action, the freedom of control has gradually extended until the Protestant population finds itself in an enviable position in this regard.

Although the British North America Act guaranteed only what the minority had in 1867, yet its rights and privileges have grown more since that date than previously. An appeal to the sense of justice and fair play of the majority has pro-

duced results which merit praise. The reader will have a clearer idea of the position which the Protestants occupy educationally before the law if the various extensions of their rights since 1846 are enumerated here than he could secure if the different points were taken up separately as they occurred during the past sixty-seven years. Amendments and additions to the school law of 1846 have resulted in giving the following advantages to the Protestants :

(1) When dissentient they determine their own rate of taxation, collect their taxes, divide their municipality into districts, and generally are independent of the commissioners except in the levying of taxes on incorporated companies, but of these taxes they receive a share in proportion to school attendance. Through their board of trustees they have absolute control of their schools under regulations made by an independent provincial board of education called the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction.

(2) This committee makes rules regarding the organization of Protestant schools, prescribes text-books and courses of study, determines under what conditions certificates may be given to Protestant teachers, makes rules for the government of the Protestant Normal School, prescribes the duties of school inspectors, and recommends the distribution of certain legislative appropriations. In short, it acts as a minor legislative body, and as such deals for Protestants with all educational questions not determined by the legislature. In 1859 there was formed a Council of Public Instruction in which there were eleven Roman Catholics and four Protestants. Ten years later this council was organized as two committees, but the action of each had to be approved by the whole council. In 1875 each committee received the right of independent action and was given a much wider scope.

(3) The lieutenant-governor in council may now establish school municipalities, or alter their limits for Protestants only or for Roman Catholics only, so that the minority is not affected by changes in the limits of school municipalities unless it wishes to be.

(4) A school for the professional training of Protestant

teachers established in 1857 is controlled by the regulations of the Protestant committee.

(5) The secretary and the assistant secretary of the department of Public Instruction were made deputy ministers under the Civil Service Act of 1868, and in 1875 the law provided for the appointment of two secretaries, both deputy ministers. Until this time the assistant secretary was an English Protestant and was subordinate to the French secretary, but since then he has had independent rights in the administration of the department that are a guarantee to the Protestant minority that could not be given if he occupied an inferior position.

(6) The Protestant schools are under the supervision of a staff of Protestant inspectors who can be appointed only after receiving a certificate of qualification from the Protestant committee.

(7) An educational journal is distributed free to all the Protestant schools of the province and to all the Protestant secretaries of the school boards.

(8) There is a Protestant Central Board of Examiners for determining whether the qualification of any teacher is sufficient to warrant the issue of a diploma. This board, and the superintendent of Public Instruction on the recommendation of the principal of the Protestant School for Teachers, have the exclusive right to give certificates valid in Protestant schools.

It will be seen from this summary of privileges given to religious minorities by the act of 1846 and subsequently, that the Protestants have schools which are state schools, and still are separate in management from those of the majority.

The Protestants themselves were in 1846, as now, made up of three main bodies, the Anglicans, the Presbyterians and the Methodists, while the Baptists, the Congregationalists and a few other denominations completed the number. Yet for the purpose of education they were treated as one body, and the word Protestant included all except Roman Catholics. While logically any Protestant body might claim the right to have schools of its own in which its own

religious tenets should be inculcated and in which there should be its peculiar atmosphere, the law recognized no such right. Moreover, no serious plea was ever put forth for the legal establishment of church schools as part of the Protestant school system.

Although this act of 1846 gave the people everywhere the right to establish schools and to support them by taxation, full advantage was not taken of that right. Taxation was unpopular, and especially among the Irish, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, it was obnoxious. Some of them declared that they had left Ireland to escape it, and they did not intend to submit to it in Canada. In many townships school commissioners were not elected, while the old schools continued to be supported by voluntary contributions.

Although there was machinery for appointing school boards and compelling them to levy a tax, it was not practically possible to exercise compulsion at first. After three years an effort was made to meet such cases by a means that would establish an organized body for the control of schools and at the same time make a concession to those who professed a willingness to support schools while objecting to taxation. Accordingly in 1849 an act was passed which provided that in any school municipality in which a rate of taxation had been declared, it would be lawful for any one of those who had been assessed to pay into the hands of the secretary-treasurer of the school board in the month of July as a voluntary contribution a sum of money to equal that granted from the government school fund for that year to the municipality concerned. This having been done, and the fact having been attested under oath and communicated to the superintendent, the municipality was relieved from taxation for that year. In virtue of this act school boards were elected where they could not have been elected before, and voluntary contributions continued for a few years. After some ten years, practically all boards operating under this law had succeeded in imposing taxes, which they promptly did whenever ratepayers defaulted in the tender of the voluntary contribution at the proper time. Although the advantages of the system of taxation became apparent

to all, this law, long obsolete in practice, disappeared from the statutes only in the year 1899.

The good effect of a practicable, even if an imperfect system of state schools was quickly seen after the passage of the act of 1846 in the establishment of academies among the English population. The High Schools of Quebec and Montreal were already in existence, as were academies in Stanstead, Hatley, Shefford, Clarenceville and Lennoxville, but within a decade these were followed by similar institutions in Barnston, Clarendon, Cassville, Compton, Cookshire, Coaticook, Danville, Dunham, Philipsburg, Sherbrooke, Stanbridge, Sorel, Sutton, Richmond and Lachute. Cowansville, Melbourne and Waterloo had at the same time academies for girls. These schools, with a few church schools, were scattered through the province, and served not only their own localities, but the smaller places as well.

It is worthy of notice that this surprising activity in the erection of good buildings for higher education, especially in the fifties, and the engagement of good teachers, was not altogether the result of legislative action. In fact, nearly all these institutions owed their origin to private initiative outside the membership of the school boards. A few, like St Francis College (Richmond) and Lachute College, were controlled by duly incorporated boards of trustees, but in most instances it was a committee of citizens that subscribed to the cost and launched the enterprise at no small sacrifice of their time and means. At first the annual cost of maintenance came from a government grant, from contributions made by the citizens, and from the tuition fees of the pupils, this last being the main source of income. One by one these institutions passed under control of the school boards, and with taxation behind them their permanency was ensured.

It was in these academies that the rural teachers were prepared, that young men were educated to the point of entering the learned professions, and that farmers' sons completed their education. These schools were not organized as now from the elementary grades up. They received only such pupils as had received a good elementary education. In consequence, the classes were made up of pupils whose ages

would probably run from fourteen to twenty years. Taking one year, 1864, as a test, it is found that almost exactly half of the pupils attending the Protestant academies were over sixteen years of age. The principals of all but the girls' academies were men, many of those whose names are still gratefully remembered having been born and educated in the United States.

As might have been expected, education under such teachers failed entirely to inspire a feeling of loyalty to British institutions. They were certainly not republican propagandists, but their bias in matters of history and the use of American text-books in nearly all subjects had, negatively at any rate, a bad effect upon their pupils.

City Schools after 1846

Although an impulse was given to rural education in all its branches by the enactments of 1846, the cities of Montreal and Quebec were not well treated. Whereas they possessed 'educational institutions which do not and cannot exist in the country parts,' it was enacted that Montreal should be entitled to receive out of the common school fund only one-fourth and Quebec only two-thirds of the sums to which they would have been entitled according to their population. It was enacted, too, that the school boards of these two cities should not have the taxing power like other boards, and should not be elective. They were to be appointed by the city council, and were to receive from the council a sum equal to this reduced share from the common school fund. If these commissioners were to be appointed rather than elected, it might be proper to withhold from them the right of levying taxes, but one may question the propriety of saying, even in legal phraseology, that since these cities were so well supplied with private schools they might get along without public schools. Such was the practical effect of this enactment. In 1847 the school commissioners of Montreal received altogether the sum of $558.05 from the city council. The government share not coming until the next year, the

board invested its first receipts at interest, 'having no use to which to apply them.'

In the following year the board expended $340 in grants to four private schools, and in 1850 it engaged two male teachers who were to receive a salary of $300 each along with the school fees as perquisites. The annual reports of the commissioners make pitiful reading, but cannot be taken up separately.

In 1861 the total income of the board from all sources was $1215.71, while the census showed that there were five thousand Protestant children in Montreal from five to fifteen years of age. For years the commissioners strove with the government and with the city council for increased grants. The success of their importunities may be judged by the following comparative statements. From 1846 to 1861 the annual receipts of the board from the city council and from the government together scarcely averaged $1200. From 1861 to 1867 its average income was $1810.

In the year 1868 a new era was opened in the history of Protestant education in Montreal. Under an amendment to the law three of the school commissioners were appointed by the government and an equal number by the city council. Taxation was imposed to the extent of $8284.80—or, more correctly, this was the share of the Protestant board. The board, however, conceived that the basis of division of school taxes in Montreal was unjust. The tax was levied upon all rateable property in Montreal and divided between the two boards in proportion to population. In other parts of the province where there were two school boards, each levied upon the property of its own supporters. It was urged that similarly the tax on all property in Montreal owned by Protestants should go to Protestant education. To the credit of the Roman Catholic board of Montreal, which would lose by the adoption of this principle of division of the taxes, it joined in the demand upon the legislature for an amendment to the law. This amendment was not made until the year 1869. The change resulted in an immediate and a substantial increase in the revenues of the Protestant board. In 1871 the tax yielded $22,816.95, and in 1875 $59,077.94.

In 1872 a strong effort was made to increase the tax from one mill to two mills on the dollar. The commissioners pointed out to the legislature that with their resources they were able to accommodate only 2500 children in their schools, while an equal number excluded from the public schools were obliged to pay for their education in private institutions. In this and in subsequent efforts for increased taxation the commissioners have been successful until the rate is now five mills on the dollar, and the annual receipts from this source alone are over half a million dollars.

With its growing prosperity the board felt its increasing responsibility to educate all the Protestant youth of Montreal. It therefore, when approached in 1870 by the Royal Institution, took over the Montreal High School for Boys, and five years later opened a High School for Girls. From this time on the history of education in Montreal has been uneventful, but the results achieved there have been the envy of the rest of the province. Able to offer relatively large salaries, the Protestant board has for the past forty years drafted into its service the best graduates of the Normal School, and has attracted eminently successful teachers from the county academies and recently from the Maritime Provinces.

In 1871 it appointed a superintendent for its own schools in the person of Sampson P. Robins, who performed a lasting service in the days of organization, until he became principal of the McGill Normal School. His successors have been men of high qualifications and have continued his good work.

With the great increase in the wealth of Montreal, the proceeds of taxes on Protestant property have enabled the board to provide schoolhouses that perhaps cannot be excelled in Canada. Without being carried away by fads, the board has been progressive. Kindergarten, manual training, cookery, music and calisthenic classes have long been organized and placed under the instruction of specialists. French has been successfully taught by the oral method with great success for many years under H. H. Curtis, as supervisor, and a competent staff of specialists. Night schools subsidized by the government have been carried on

since about 1889 by the board for the instruction of foreigners especially.

A technical and commercial high school has been established for day and evening work. Four attempts have been made in the legislature to make the board elective, but at a time when the press was inveighing against the alleged corruption, or at any rate the mismanagement, of the popularly elected city council, not many were willing to make a change. In consequence the bills never passed the lower house, in which they were introduced.

The Protestant commissioners of Quebec are similarly appointed, and suffered similarly in the early days until amendments to the school law provided for an adequate contribution from taxation. Here the Boys' High School, although placed under the control of the school commissioners for a few years, soon reverted to the original board of trustees and is carried on by them. Their chief source of revenue arises from endowments and from generous annual contributions from the governors of Morrin College. A brief reference to this institution will be made later.

The Girls' High School, however, and the common school, which in its various classes accommodates the diminishing Protestant population of the city, are carried on by the school board.

Pre-Confederation Questions

Although the act of 1846 had made provision for the protection of the minority that was giving satisfactory results in this regard, the proposal to confederate the provinces and to commit education entirely to the local legislatures caused some uneasiness among the Protestants of Lower Canada, and also among the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada. The clause of the proposed British North America Act that fixed denominational schools upon the two old provinces was regarded by the Protestants of Upper Canada as an undesirable but expedient concession, while the Protestants of Lower Canada regarded it as an uncertain and imperfect safeguard of the rights and privileges they were enjoying.

The whole debate, so far as the Lower Canada members of the house were concerned, centred in this one question as to the sufficiency or insufficiency of the clause to provide against adverse legislation in the provincial legislature.

Those who doubted the sufficiency of the clause, and who demanded more specific legislation to precede Confederation, do not appear to have suspected the good faith of the French-Canadian majority so much as they doubted whether the political experience of the country had been long enough to give reasonable assurance of the course of political action in the future. A French-Canadian member, Letellier de St Just, who was afterwards lieutenant-governor of the province, gave forcible expression to this point of view :

> I have heard it said that the Protestants of Lower Canada ought to be satisfied with their prospects for the future because we have always acted with liberality towards them. But that is no guarantee for them, for we would not content ourselves with a mere promise to act liberally, if we considered that our interest or our institutions were threatened by a majority differing in race and religion from ourselves ; and in any case that is not the way to ensure the peace of the country. . . . When we observe a man like the honorable member [Sir N. F. Belleau] acknowledge that we do not agree with the Irish, despite the identity of our religious belief, it may be easily foreseen that difficulties will arise with populations differing from us in origin and belief.

The Finance minister, A. T. Galt, had declared at a public meeting in Sherbrooke that amendments to the school law would be made, in the interest of the Protestant minority, before Confederation was adopted. In reply to a question by Luther H. Holton, the promise was repeated by J. A. Macdonald (attorney-general, West) that such amendments would be brought down. However, it would appear that the ultimate form of the clause in question in the British North America Act was so comprehensive as to cover the whole matter.

In September 1864 a meeting was held in the Mechanics' Hall, Montreal, for the formation of an ' Association for the

Promotion and Protection of the Educational Interests of Protestants in Lower Canada.' Some months before a printed circular had been sent to Protestant clergymen, school commissioners and others interested in education asking them three questions :

> (1) In what respects are legislative enactments, in your opinion, adverse to the interests of Protestants in Lower Canada ?
>
> (2) What facts can you furnish to show that the carrying out of the educational laws is prejudicial to Protestant interests in your locality ?
>
> (3) What amendments would you suggest for the promotion of the educational interests of Protestant families ?

A considerable number of answers were returned to these suggestive questions and a long discussion took place regarding them. Most of the complaints that were made were founded on misapprehensions as to law and fact. A dignified reply was made in the *Journal of Education* by P. J. O. Chauveau, superintendent of Education. Chauveau conclusively showed that no discrimination was made against the Protestant minority either in the law or in his administration of it. On the contrary, he proved by official documents that the Protestants received more than their share of educational grants in proportion either to population or school attendance ; that Roman Catholic dissentients were nearly half as numerous as Protestant dissentients and were subject to the same grievances, if there were any ; that French and English inspectors equally visited all the schools in their respective districts regardless of the language spoken by the pupils. Other similar complaints were dealt with in the same manner. Although the meeting seemed to forget that the formation of the association was for the ' promotion ' as well as for the ' protection ' of the educational interests of the Protestants of Lower Canada, it served a good purpose.

The reply of Chauveau and the comments of the press served to allay the suspicion held by many Protestants that they were unjustly treated by the majority. The single

feature of Chauveau's reply that was not convincing was his attitude towards the complaint that there was no English Protestant officer in the department over which he presided. However, in 1868, Dr H. H. Miles, a professor in Bishop's College, was made assistant secretary with the rank of deputy minister.

Training of Teachers

In 1836 it was arranged that normal schools for English-speaking as well as for French-speaking people should be established. Experience had shown how ineffective was the work of the untrained and frequently uneducated teacher, especially in the rural schools. Accordingly in this connection two men were brought to the province, one from France, and one, Mr Findlater, from Scotland. The political crisis of 1837 intervened and Findlater returned to Scotland a few months after his arrival.

The examining boards that were appointed under the act of 1846 were examining boards only, and were simply empowered to issue certificates of qualification, which they did after rather superficial oral examinations in which the art of teaching and school management had no place.

In 1851 an act was passed which provided for the foundation of normal schools. They did not, however, begin operations until 1857. At this time the general principle of dividing school appropriations on a population basis was recognized, and it was proposed to apply it to the votes for normal schools. Two Roman Catholic normal schools were to be established, and one Protestant normal school was considered sufficient for the minority. Applying the principle of division of money according to population, six to one, the Protestant normal school would have received two-twelfths of the normal school vote, while each Roman Catholic normal school would have received five-twelfths. Chauveau recognized that such an arrangement would mean that the Protestant normal school would be entirely inferior in point of staff and equipment to the others, and in consequence recommended to the government that the vote should be divided

equally among the three proposed institutions. This was done and the proportion was maintained for nearly half a century, until the rapid development of normal school training and the foundation of nearly a dozen new Roman Catholic institutions brought about an expenditure on the population basis. The Protestant Normal School was opened in Montreal in 1857 with Dr John W. Dawson, the head of McGill University, as principal. Associated with him were William H. Hicks, an English-trained teacher who had carried on a training-school in Bonaventure Street under the Colonial Church Society since 1853, and Sampson P. Robins, who had been trained in the Toronto Normal School. Dawson's tenure of office extended over thirteen years, but his principalship became merely nominal and supervisory, his time being fully occupied in the making of McGill University. Hicks became principal in 1870 and continued as such until 1884, when he was succeeded by Dr S. P. Robins.

During exactly fifty years the McGill Normal School did a noble work for the province, and trained no less than 2989 teachers, many of whom occupy places of distinction in the educational and professional world. At the inception of the institution the sources of supply, the country academies, were of varying degrees of excellence. Pupils coming up for training as teachers lacked in many instances the literary training necessary as a foundation upon which to build the professional structure. In consequence the Normal School undertook from the first to combine professional training and a general education. Three courses were provided, requiring an attendance of ten months each, or thirty months if a pupil entered the lowest class and proceeded through all in order to take the highest diploma. The diplomas given were of three grades—the elementary, the model school and the academy. At various times proposals were made to reduce the length of the terms and to restrict the work to professional subjects. It was alleged, and admitted, that the academies in more recent years were efficient, and that pupils left them with a good sound education, much superior, indeed, to anything that could be expected during the first twenty-five years of the Normal School's existence. Still,

the effect of the severe and prolonged discipline in the Normal School was so apparent in the increased power and earnestness of the graduates of that institution that no serious support was ever given to these proposals until the year 1896, when an optional course of four months was offered to teachers in rural schools as a concession to the demand for a shorter course. This concession was coincident with a regulation by which no diplomas could be obtained thereafter without professional training. This change, however, met no real need. The applications never exceeded thirty, and gradually dwindled until in 1908 they had fallen to two or three, and the course was withdrawn. The fact was that young women who wanted professional training at all preferred the higher diploma, because the school boards gave the preference to teachers who had the longer training.

Until 1885 the third year, or that leading to the academy diploma, was continued, although naturally the attendance was small and the course of study covered in some subjects the work done in the arts course in the university in the sophomore and junior years. The waste of energy in duplicating this work, and the feeling that still more could then be reasonably demanded of those who aspired to the highest diploma, led to the suppression of the academy class. The diploma, however, was given to graduates in arts who took a professional and practical course in the Normal School. In the year 1907 McGill Normal School closed its doors after an existence of fifty years, during all of which time Dr S. P. Robins, the principal, had been upon the staff of the school. In fact, he made an address at the opening of the school in 1857 and said the last word in 1907. The Province of Quebec will long remember him as one of her most distinguished and talented educators, and his pupils will always feel the effect of his vigorous character.

Although McGill Normal School ceased to exist under this title, it still lives on under happier conditions as the School for Teachers of Macdonald College. For many years Sir William Macdonald had been a lavish and wise benefactor of educational institutions in the Province of Quebec and elsewhere. To McGill University in particular he had

given millions, but while not withdrawing his interest in that great institution, he planned during the few years preceding 1907 to endow the province with a college for the training of young men who are to follow agricultural pursuits. Accordingly he acquired at Ste Anne-de-Bellevue, some twenty miles from Montreal, several farms aggregating 561 acres in extent, and erected there a fine group of buildings, which, with the farms, cost over two million dollars. Sir William duplicated this expenditure by an endowment of two million dollars. In order most effectually to reach the rural population and to better the conditions of rural life, he associated with the Agricultural College a School of Domestic Science and a School for Teachers. Under an act of the legislature the McGill Normal School was closed and the School for Teachers replaced it with practically the same staff and subject to the same regulations of the Protestant Committee as to terms of admission, continuance of pupils, and the issue of diplomas.

The whole expense of this school was to be a charge on the Macdonald College funds, but the act of the legislature provided that the government contributions to McGill Normal School should not be released for the benefit of the general funds of the province, but should thereafter be employed exclusively for Protestant education. The advantages of the residential system in the School for Teachers and the greater demand for trained teachers has resulted in an increased attendance, until one hundred and seventy pupils are annually trained in this institution. This number, under ordinary conditions, should meet the demands of the Protestant schools.

Subsidiary Training of Teachers

Up to the year 1896 the needs of the small rural schools seemed to require the licensing of teachers who were unable to attend McGill Normal School. The boards of examiners in each judicial district were authorized to license teachers after examination. Although a syllabus was laid down for each diploma, there was a great diversity in the standards

of the different boards. Some, indeed, were popular for their easy ways, while others, like that of Montreal, were carefully avoided by the timid candidates because of their reasonable severity. In 1877 a step was taken towards uniformity by the printing of examination papers in the department of Public Instruction. But still the valuation of the answers was left to the members of the individual boards, all excellent and well-educated citizens, but most of them, in the rural parts, entirely inexperienced in the practical work of education. An important change was made in 1889. The local boards were all disbanded and a central board consisting of experienced and highly educated teachers, inspectors and examiners replaced them. These educationists drew up the papers, which were sent to the various centres, and examined and valued the answers. Diplomas were granted on recommendation of this central board. The effect of the high standard set by this board was felt in all the schools that prepared candidates for diplomas. This central board still continues, but is no longer an examining board. It controls the admissions to the School for Teachers and determines what diplomas shall be granted to the pupils in attendance after considering the reports supplied by the staff. An important function of this board is the granting of diplomas to British subjects desiring to teach in the province, who have had professional training and have received certificates from competent authorities elsewhere.

But with all this provision for training and testing the teachers, many schools in the rural parts have always been supplied with unqualified teachers, unqualified in law and in fact. Various expedients have been applied in order to reach these persons. In 1884 teachers' institutes were organized and for some fifteen years were held in the summer in four centres. The attendance frequently exceeded one hundred, and seldom fell below fifty, in each place. The normal school term was shortened to nine months, and the professors were required to take part in these institutes along with the inspectors. Although the sessions lasted only one week, they were productive of much good. Finally the inspectors were, and are, required to hold conferences with all

their teachers assembled in convenient groups at least once a year for the discussion of professional subjects. In 1913 the Protestant committee instituted as an experiment a summer school in Lachute extending over four weeks, during which teachers without professional training follow a course of lectures by competent men, and take practical work as well.

Special Teachers

The cities, especially Montreal, have always, on account of their large school populations, endeavoured to commit the teaching of certain subjects to specialists. In doing so they have met with great success in such subjects as French, drawing, music, cookery, manual training and calisthenics. French has long been a compulsory subject in the model schools and academies, and an optional subject in the elementary schools. The work laid down is extensive; more so than appears on paper. The object has long been that of teaching French as a living or spoken language. In Montreal, Quebec and Sherbrooke conspicuous success has followed the employment of special teachers, while in the country academies the work done by ordinary class teachers in French has been uneven and generally unsatisfactory. The department of French in McGill University having for several years carried on a summer school in French for those already having a fair conversational ability, the Protestant committee arranged in 1911 for engrafting upon it a school of methods. Specially selected and qualified teachers were encouraged by small bonuses to attend this school of methods and to abandon ordinary teaching in order to teach French in all the grades of the country academies. The boards of these institutions receive bonuses of $150 or $200 a year provided they employ these special teachers and pay them a salary equal to the minimum fixed from time to time for this purpose. The experience of three years has amply justified this departure. McGill also holds summer schools of art and physical culture, public school teachers being encouraged to attend them.

Administration

In the years 1876 and 1883 two very important steps were taken for the better administration of Protestant schools. In 1876 the act of the previous year by which the Protestant committee of the Council of Public Instruction was organized as a separate body came into effect. In 1869 the council was divided into a Roman Catholic and a Protestant committee, but the rights of individual action were restricted, and final action was reserved for the whole council. With this cumbrous machinery the Protestant section of the committee failed to accomplish anything worthy of notice. But with great and exclusive powers in regard to the organization of the Protestant school system, so far as consistent with the general law, the reorganized committee entered upon its work with zeal. Frequent meetings were held and the work of all classes of schools was passed under review.

The members of this committee appointed by the lieutenant-governor in council were: James Williams, D.D., Lord Bishop of Quebec, Charles D. Day, Christopher Dunkin, John Cook, D.D., George Irvine, Archdeacon Leach, M.A., James Ferrier and Principal J. W. Dawson. Under the provisions of the law this committee elected as associate members Judge Sanborn, R. W. Heneker, W. W. Lynch, Dr Alex. Cameron and Henry Fry. According to the provisions of the law the committee appointed its own secretary, who was the Rev. Dr George Weir.

To the old powers of the council in relation to Protestant schools, now transferred to the committee, were added the right of selection and nomination of all educational officers appointed by the government, such as school inspectors, professors of the normal school, and members and secretaries of boards of examiners. The word ' secretaries ' in the act was intended to apply to officers of the boards of examiners, but both committees at first interpreted it as referring to the secretaries of the department.

As the secretaries of the department were deputy ministers, and as such were appointed under the Civil Service Act, the

government never accepted this pretension, and to remove it the legislature, in 1899, revised the article upon which it rested. At the same time the right to nominate school inspectors was taken from the committee, but the government was restricted in its choice to such persons as should have taken a certificate of qualification from the committee.

The reorganized committee set about its work of creating a system for Protestant schools. It found that the law provided ample machinery for the organization of school boards and for the conduct of the administrative part of school work, but it found, too, that there were no regulations for the guidance of school inspectors, teachers, pupils or parents, that there were no written examinations for pupils, no courses of study for either elementary or superior schools, no special inspection of superior schools whose grants the committee determined, no list of authorized text-books, no separate statistics in regard to Protestant schools—in short, no signs of a real system of education.

Several sub-committees were appointed to study various phases of educational work. The committee on superior schools reported that out of fifty-six institutions only fourteen could be said to meet the requirements of their class, and of these only five were really efficient. These five were Granby, Huntingdon, Knowlton, Lacolle and Sherbrooke academies. In the course of a few years all these deficiencies were corrected through the efforts of the committee. However, as the grants to elementary schools were paid on a population basis as between school boards, and as there were over a thousand of these schools in the rural parts of the province, it soon became evident that the committee could do little more for them than it had done by way of regulations, and that they must be left to the care of the department. Gradually the attention of the committee became absorbed in the administration of the superior schools, and for this it was the subject of severe criticism in the country press.

In fact, it became the fashion to blame the committee for not doing the impossible, while its many services, freely given, were ignored. Such an attitude, of course, did not

last many years; and after about 1890 no attacks on the committee came from any responsible source.

In its early days the committee performed important services in the settlement of several questions that had been before the public in irritating forms. Entrance to the study of the several professions was to be had through examinations conducted by different boards upon courses of study differing widely from one another and from that required in the arts courses of McGill College and Bishop's College. The various professional interests finally harmonized their requirements, and in 1890 the 'B.A. bill' was passed, which gave university graduates the right of exemption from examination before entrance to the study of any learned profession.

After Confederation the Dominion government collected for six years the fees charged for the celebration of marriages in the Province of Quebec without the publication of banns, but for obvious reasons abandoned the collection in favour of the province, to which the fees clearly belonged. However, it was not until the year 1883 that the committee succeeded in recovering the sum of $28,000 which had been collected in the meantime by the federal government. This sum was deposited with the provincial government, the proceeds at five per cent interest being devoted to Protestant superior education as well as the yearly proceeds of the sale of marriage licences. The members of the committee who were most active in securing settlement of this case were Principal Dawson, Dr Cook and Bishop Williams. It was their intention to have the marriage licence fees earmarked for the support of university education, but the act of the legislature disposing of the funds devoted them simply to superior schools without the restriction that these men always contended for.

The question resolved itself into one of book-keeping, and, although warmly debated at times, was of no practical significance. In 1899 an act of the legislature empowered the committee to divide the marriage licence fees, now producing some ten thousand dollars annually, at its discretion between superior schools and poor rural schools.

In 1882 the English secretaryship of the department was filled by the appointment of the Rev. Elson I. Rexford, a trained and experienced teacher, an honours graduate of McGill and an active educational reformer. He brought to his work a first-hand knowledge of educational conditions, unusual ability as an organizer and administrator, and untiring energy. No appointment could better have met the requirements of the time. Rexford completed the work of the committee and made it effective. Courses of study were projected, printed, circulated and enforced. Regulations concerning all phases of school work were drawn up and made public. The ' boarding around ' system was abolished. The department was brought into close touch with the school boards, the ratepayers and the Protestant committee. An inspector of superior schools was appointed, uniform written examinations were imposed upon model schools and academies, and teachers' normal institutes were organized for untrained teachers.

The secretary held meetings in all parts of the province to discuss with the people the question of better schools, better methods, and better business arrangements. Notwithstanding the fact that the committee had a secretary of its own, the business of this body naturally gravitated to the department and was done by the English secretary to such an extent that in 1886 Rexford was made secretary of the committee. This dual position has been occupied by his successor as well, and although it has sometimes been a delicate matter to act loyally towards the government and the committee at the same time, administration has been more direct, consistent and harmonious because of this arrangement.

Rexford's reputation is not impaired by the reflection that he had great opportunities for making it, for during his nine years of office he was always equal to his opportunities, and when he resigned to accept another post, he had accomplished much that is of permanent value.

No statement regarding the administration of the laws and regulations in respect to Protestant schools would be complete without reference to the relation the English

secretary of the department bears to the superintendent. The latter officer has always been French, Roman Catholic, and chief officer of the department, with full powers of administration conferred upon him by the law. The English secretary is therefore his deputy and his subordinate in every departmental act. Yet the superintendents, particularly the Hon. Gedeon Ouimet and the Hon. Boucher de la Bruère, have given the English secretaries a perfectly free hand in everything relating to Protestant education and have supported them with their authority on all occasions. In fact, without evasion of their legal responsibilities, they have, so far as that is possible, treated their English secretaries as though they were of equal rank with themselves. This generous attitude has done much to increase the efficiency of the work of administration on the Protestant side.

Universities

From the year 1787 onward the need of a Canadian university was never really forgotten, yet for years nothing was done beyond the legislation of 1801 and the making of unfulfilled promises of land grants.

In 1813 James McGill, a public-spirited merchant of Montreal, died, leaving by will his property, consisting of forty-six acres of land with buildings on the outskirts of Montreal, and the sum of £10,000 in money, to found a college in a provincial university. He evidently had not lost faith in the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, to which by his direction the property was to be conveyed on condition that this body would within ten years of his decease erect and establish on his estate a university or college for the purposes of education and the advancement of learning in the province. The will further stipulated that the college or one of the colleges in the university, if established, 'should be named and perpetually be known and distinguished by the appellation of McGill College.'

The Royal Institution, powerless for want of funds and the promised grants, had abandoned the idea of establishing a university, but it became incorporated in 1818, princi-

pally for the purpose of establishing McGill College. It applied for a royal charter, obtained it in 1821, and prepared to take possession of the estate. The will being contested by the residuary legatees, protracted litigation ensued until 1829, when judgment by the Privy Council enabled the Royal Institution to discharge its duties.

The college was opened with great ceremony in June 1829, and teaching in medicine began. The first act of the governors of McGill after the inaugural meeting was to resolve ' that the members of the Medical Institute (Dr Caldwell, Dr Stephenson, Dr Robertson and Dr Holmes) be engrafted on the College as its medical faculty and that they should immediately enter upon the duties of their offices.'

This Montreal Medical Institute had been a medical school for five years, and the reputation of the professors just mentioned was so high that the certificates issued by them were accepted by Edinburgh University.

Teaching in the faculty of arts was carried on only in a desultory way by professors who depended on fees until the faculty was properly organized in 1843.

Although the first principal was Archdeacon Mountain and McGill himself had been an Anglican, the desire to give a church bias to the new institution had no general support. The organizers had wider and wiser views in regard to a university that was apparently intended by the founder to serve all the people of the province.

In 1838 the Royal Institution, which regarded itself as still responsible for education generally in virtue of the act by which it was created, sent a long memorandum to the governors of McGill as a statement of policy. It declared, among other things, that it was not expedient to have a professor of divinity under the charter, and that the Bishop of Montreal and the Presbyterian Synod of Canada should be informed that lecture-rooms would be provided for them in which to give lectures in divinity to their respective students. This policy was accepted, and McGill from that time till now has been a non-sectarian institution. It has thus been able to gratify its ambition to be not merely a

provincial but a national institution, and to welcome to its halls all those who desire sound learning.

The early history of McGill covers some thirty years of financial stress and administrative difficulties. The faculty of medicine flourished through the devotion and sacrifice of the staff, while the faculty of arts declined. In 1852 a few citizens of Montreal determined to rescue the institution. A new charter was secured, and three years later J. W. Dawson became principal. For nearly forty years the university prospered and grew under his able administration. New faculties were added, new buildings were erected, and large endowments were received. However, notwithstanding the generosity of a few public-spirited citizens, the expansion always kept in advance of the finances.

In 1895, after the retirement of Sir William Dawson, the university was fortunate in the appointment of Dr William Peterson to the principalship, and during his tenure of office he has seen a marvellous development in the work of the university, in the raising of standards, and in the university spirit. Faculties no longer think of themselves as separate professional schools but as a part of the University of McGill. Great endowments, notably those of Sir William Macdonald, have been made from time to time, and the citizens of Montreal have realized the value of McGill as a national asset. Until 1911 McGill had received its millions from a few, but in that year, in response to a general appeal, the sum of $1,550,000 was raised in five days, chiefly in Montreal. In the following year the legislature voted the sum of $25,000 towards current expenses, with the tacit understanding that this sum, at least, should continue as an annual appropriation ; and the city of Montreal voted a sum of $10,000 soon after.

Up to this time the government assistance had been insignificant, the first grant being made in 1854. For years the contribution of the province was only $3000 or $4000 annually. At practically no cost to the government, but through the munificence of private donors, the Province of Quebec has a university that ranks in public estimation with the greatest on the American continent.

Notwithstanding the part that McGill has played in raising the standard of education in the province, and in providing education and training in arts, medicine, law, applied science, agriculture and teaching, it has extended its activities to the training of physical instructors, military officers and specialists in French. It has also established a conservatorium of music, a department granting a diploma of Commerce, and through its officers has developed into University Settlement work a society formed by its women graduates in 1889.

In short, the progressive and energetic administration of the past twenty years has been marked by such rapid strides towards the highest ideals of university service as to cause the slower growth of previous years under harder conditions to be almost forgotten.

The University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, had its origin in the religious impulse. In 1843 three divinity students were transferred from Three Rivers to Lennoxville. They had been under the instruction of the Rev. S. S. Wood, M.A., for two years in the Rectory House, formerly a monastery. Wood declined an invitation to go with his divinity students to Lennoxville, the centre of a growing English population, where a site for a school and material support were offered by public-spirited citizens.

The Rev. Lucius Doolittle, a native of Vermont, was the moving organizing spirit in the founding of this college. In 1842 Doolittle had, in fact, already opened a school in his own house. With the removal to Lennoxville came a change of plan. It was decided to establish not merely a theological college but a residential university, with a faculty of divinity and a faculty of arts, religious in character, but suitable to lay students of any denomination. The college was incorporated in 1843 and became a university by royal charter in 1853.

The first principal was the Rev. Jasper Hume Nicolls, who in the earlier days of his principalship, from 1845 to 1877, did the greater part of the teaching in the institution.

The old grammar school in the village had a precarious existence, was closed in 1853 and reopened four years later,

when, under the energetic direction of the Rev. J. W. Williams, it entered upon its career as a residential school on the plan of English public schools. Its buildings are now on the campus with the arts and the divinity halls, but it has been separated as to finances and control from the university.

As in the case of McGill, the endowments of Bishop's have come from private benevolence and have never overtaken the plans of the governors. The piety of the early founders provided funds sufficient for the support of chairs in mathematics, classics, and the other time-honoured subjects of a university education, but in recent years efforts have been made to give the full variety of options in arts offered by modern universities.

Although a law faculty was in existence, and a medical school was carried on in Montreal for years until its absorption by McGill in 1905, the university now restricts its work entirely to arts and divinity courses. Like McGill it has had but little government recognition, but in 1911 its annual legislative grant was increased to $2500, and, in anticipation of its diamond jubilee, it now has a new endowment of $100,000 well under way.

Special Schools

In 1854 St Francis College was founded in Richmond, and a few years later Morrin College was established in Quebec. They were both in affiliation with McGill, the first for two years' work and the latter for the full course in arts. During the era of small things in McGill these institutions could prepare their students in the ordinary course for the McGill examinations, but conditions were made so severe that St Francis abandoned arts work entirely, and in 1900 Morrin College closed its doors as a teaching institution. The revenues of Morrin are now expended in support of education in Quebec in accordance with the will of Dr Morrin.

Although these institutions did a good work in their time, their disappearance came about through lack of sufficient funds to enable them either to keep pace with the rising standards of McGill or to compete with her for students.

As training for all the learned professions so far as English-speaking students are concerned centres in McGill, so McGill has four of the five theological colleges grouped about her campus. They teach divinity, but their students follow the arts course of McGill. These four colleges are the Congregational, founded in 1839 in Dundas, Ont.; the Presbyterian, founded in 1867; the Wesleyan, in 1872, and the Diocesan, in 1873.

In 1912 these four colleges, with a desire for economy of effort and for greater efficiency, consolidated their work in all subjects excepting the few that they regard as distinctive. The students of all colleges thus follow practically the same courses in divinity, while the professors have an opportunity for closer specialization.

For technical education the Protestants have only one institution entirely their own. Certain citizens of Montreal founded the Technical Institute and made arrangements in 1908 with the Protestant School Board of Montreal by which they use the Commercial and Technical High School for their evening classes, while the board carries on the work there in the day classes.

The technical training given by the School of Arts and Manufactures and the magnificent Technical Schools of Montreal and Quebec is open to Protestants as well as to Roman Catholics.

General Remarks

The Protestant elementary schools in the rural parts have suffered during the past thirty years from a diminishing school attendance. Schoolhouses which were once attended by thirty or forty pupils now accommodate perhaps a quarter of that number. Efforts for consolidation have not been successful, but the public feeling is now favourable to such a plan. Public meetings organized by the Protestant committee and the department were held in the summers of 1906, 1912, and 1913 in all parts of the province in the interest of the rural school.

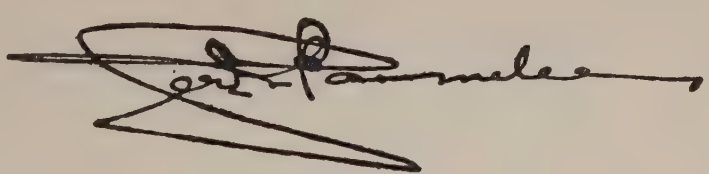
Model schools and academies in the villages and towns

are in a high state of efficiency and bear comparison with similar schools anywhere. The city schools of all grades, having wealth and public spirit behind them, have been brought to the highest efficiency in every respect. In fact, the only serious problem in regard to Protestant education in Quebec is that of the rural school.

In 1904 the Protestant board of Montreal was required by law to make its common schools free. In 1912 a bill to make education in Protestant schools compulsory was introduced by Dr Finnie in the house of assembly. It did not come to the second reading, but in the following session he reintroduced it, only to have it meet defeat. In the same year school boards were authorized by law to abolish the school fee and to provide free text-books for pupils.

In 1903 a general act provided that for all purposes of education Jews should be considered as Protestants. They had always preferred to ally themselves with the English-speaking people for purposes of education, and by this act their status was made definite for the future.

From this sketch it will be seen that Protestant education has been free to develop along its own lines in the Province of Quebec and to-day suffers only from those disabilities which naturally fall to the lot of all minorities.



THREE CENTURIES OF AGRICULTURE

THREE CENTURIES OF AGRICULTURE

General Considerations

NO survey of the history of the Province of Quebec can be considered complete without some account of the development of agriculture. Though it cannot be said that agriculture has ever figured prominently in the political and constitutional growth of the province, though its progress has never appeared of sufficient importance to Canadian historians to demand detailed reference, it is evident that the march of events in Quebec has always been, if not dependent upon, at least closely interwoven with, the history of the soil.

Many of the hunters, farmers of the revenue, traders, artisans and workmen who migrated from Old to New France in the early days of the colony underwent a progressive change in their habits of life and settled down on the land beside the few who had always made it their means of livelihood. They became known, and are still known, as 'habitants.' The habitant lived on the land and by the land permanently, in contrast to the trader, *coureur de bois* and artisan, who continued to pursue their various occupations moving from place to place and ever keeping before them the idea of returning to France.

The First Habitants

Champlain, the founder of Quebec, may fairly be called one of the first of the habitants. In 1613 he wrote: 'Remembering the inconvenience that we experienced during previous years in making hay for the cattle so late, I had two thousand

bundles of it made at Cap Tourmente as early as August, and sent for them in one of our boats.' Ferland says: 'Cattle were imported into the country in the earliest days of the colony, as is proved by a map of Quebec and its surroundings for the year 1608 made by Champlain for his book of travels published in 1613. He even indicates a place where fodder for these cattle had been collected.' [1] On the same map were marked the gardens of the *habitation* and a piece of cleared land sown with wheat and other grains. In 1626 Champlain established a farm at the foot of Cap Tourmente for cattle that he sent from Quebec.

Another early habitant of Quebec was Louis Hébert, who was induced by Champlain to come to the St Lawrence in 1617. By 1620 Hébert had ploughed his land, and he was the first settler to live by the produce of the soil. He cleared the ground that is now the site of the cathedral, the seminary, and that part of Upper Town which extends from Sainte Famille Street to the Hôtel-Dieu; and in the time of Champlain this part of the city was known as *les labourages d'Hébert* (Hébert's ploughed land). The third of these habitants was Guillaume Couillard, Hébert's son-in-law, who is mentioned by Champlain as holding in 1629, in conjunction with the widow of Louis Hébert, seven or eight arpents of sown fields. Abraham Martin is reported to have cultivated for his living, between 1643 and 1646, the land now known as the Plains of Abraham. Another settler, Robert Giffard, interested himself in agriculture, and is said to have had in 1635 big crops of wheat, peas and Indian corn. So much for the first habitants of the Quebec district.

Pierre Boucher, who from 1653 on played an important part in the history of New France as judge, and governor of Three Rivers, did much for agriculture in later years both as seigneur and farmer; in 1663 he wrote a history of the resources of New France that is still most valuable for the information it gives regarding the country in the seventeenth century.[2]

[1] Ferland, *Histoire du Canada*, vol. i. p. 212.

[2] Boucher, *Histoire véritable et naturelle des mœurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, 1664. Royal Society Edition, 1896.

At Montreal, according to Benjamin Sulte, Pierre Gadois took possession in 1648 of the land on which Ste Anne's market [1] is now situated, and became one of the first habitants. Leblond de Brumath in his *Histoire populaire de Montréal* gives the names of de Maisonneuve, Simon Richomme, Blaise Guillet, Léonard Lucault, Francois Godé and others as having been the first *défricheurs* (land clearers).

The names of these first tillers of the soil of New France have not died. The blood of the pioneers of agriculture in the Province of Quebec still runs in the veins of a large number of the habitant families, and men of the oldest branches of the French-Canadian aristocracy—lawyers, doctors, statesmen, clergymen—are proud to claim the Héberts, the Couillards, the Giffards and the Bouchers as their ancestors.

Organization of Agriculture in Quebec

The organization of agriculture in Quebec covers three periods of the development of the province.

Not until 1626 was there any regular system of colonization in New France, and that established at that date was based upon what is called seigneurial or feudal tenure. It was, of course, the system of tenure still prevailing in Old France, but it was restricted and adapted to meet the circumstances of the new country. The king was seigneur suzerain; all lands were held from him either as freehold (*franc-alleu*) of fief or seigniory. At every alienation by sale or gift, the seigneur suzerain was entitled to a fifth (*quint*) of the value of the fief, the new tenant being entitled to a discount of one-third on this amount if he paid cash. When the fief was inherited by a collateral heir of the tenant, he had to pay the king the old feudal aid of 'relief'—one year's revenue. Nothing was due to the suzerain if the fief was inherited by a lineal descendant.

The owner of a seigniory had the obligation of establishing settlers on his domain. The concessions were of about eighty arpents in area, the *censitaires* paying a perpetual and annual rent of one or two cents per square arpent. For

[1] Benjamin Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, vol. ii. p. 143.

the whole concession the *censitaire* had to pay once a year half a bushel of wheat ; he was obliged to carry all the grain that he wanted ground to the seigneur's grist-mill, giving up one-fourteenth of every bushel of ground grain as payment. When a *censitaire* sold his land, the seigneur had the right of *lods et ventes*, payment of one-twelfth of the price of sale, and this was the most lucrative part of the revenue drawn from the *censitaires*. In many seigniories the lords, instead of conceding all their lands to *censitaires*, withheld many and managed them on the *métayage* system, a temporary partnership on venture, in which the proprietor supplies the land and the seeds, and sometimes half the horses and cattle, while the *métayer*, or petty farmer, finds the implements and the rest of the animals and does all the work ; profits are shared equally between landowner and *métayer*. Two hundred and fifteen seigniories were established during the French rule, the first two being granted in 1626, one to Guillaume Hébert under the title-name of St Joseph de l'Espinay, Quebec, and the other to the Jesuit Fathers under the name of Notre Dame des Anges, Quebec ; of the four established under English rule, the two first were granted to Seigneur Fraser and Seigneur Nairn in 1762 under the respective title-names of Mount Murray and Malbaie, or Murray Bay, Charlevoix County ; while the last of the seigniories to be established was that of Seigneur Schoolbred in 1788 under the title-name of Schoolbred, Gaspe County.

That seigneurial tenure was beneficial to the development of agriculture may be seen in the growth and organization of the rural population under the system. The registers of births, marriages and deaths that have been preserved prove the formation of at least forty-seven parishes in New France between the foundation of the colony and the year 1700.

The seigneurial system in the Province of Quebec was abolished in 1854, and since that time all lands contained in the old seigniories are held by the former *censitaires* or their heirs in freehold. The rents only are still payable, but are all redeemable, provided the capital represented by them, calculated at six per cent, is paid to the lessors.

While it has disappeared as a land system, seigneurial

tenure, together with the old parish organization, has had a lasting effect upon the progress of the rural communities of New France. At the present time two hundred and seventy-three families are known still to be living on lands taken up by their ancestors before 1700, living witnesses through five, six, seven, eight, nine, even ten generations of the sturdiness of the first settlers who possessed themselves of the land of the new colony and held to it with all their might.

Origin of the English Settlers of Quebec

Such was the agricultural organization of the Province of Quebec in the first period of the French régime. But that part of New France which received the name of Lower Canada when it came under English rule was early settled by a large English-speaking population. This brings us to the second period of the development of the land of the province.

The French-Canadian habitants had settled on both banks of the St Lawrence River. On the south shore, however, to the south of the domain occupied by the French *censitaires*, there was a wide tract of country that was still uninhabited and was nothing but a vast forest when New France fell into the hands of England. This district, now known as the Eastern Townships, began to be settled only in the closing years of the eighteenth century, when it came into the hands of the English-speaking farmer.

For a few years before and after the Declaration of Independence of the American colonies of Great Britain, a number of United Empire Loyalists,[1] who were determined to remain faithful to the British flag, and others from the old colonies eager to better their condition, sought homes in Canada. At the same time officers and men of the Canadian militia and the widows and orphans of some of those who had fallen in the war were thought to have some right to the consideration of the government. It was by these elements, a mixture of English, Scottish, Irish and American immigrants together with a slight infusion of people of other

[1] See p. 456.

nationalities, that the Eastern Townships were settled at the end of the eighteenth century. Any responsible individual who had sustained losses through his loyalty to the British government or had otherwise merited reward for his services could, by pursuing a prescribed course in conjunction with a certain number of other persons of undoubted loyalty, obtain a grant of land.

These grants were held upon tenure known as 'free and common socage,' a system quite different from the seigneurial tenure obtaining under the French régime. To obtain the grant of a township a number of individuals intending to become settlers were first required to organize themselves into a company under the name of 'associates,' and to select one of their number to act as their agent in the transaction of business with the government. This agent was to undertake to bear all expenses incurred in the survey of the township, to open a road to and through it, to erect mills within the territory, and to obtain the signatures of a specified number of persons pledging themselves to become actual settlers in the township. The number of signatures required varied with the size of the tract of land petitioned for, forty being the number usually designated for a township of ten miles square.

The arrangements between agents and associates took the form of a private agreement by a deed between the parties, who shared equally in the distribution of the land; it was understood that of the number of lots drawn by himself the associate could reconvey to the agent, in consideration of expenses incurred and services rendered in transactions with the government, all the land to which he was entitled over and above a certain number of acres agreed upon among the associates, upon which 'Acts and settlements' were to be made. The number was usually fixed at two hundred acres, and the associate was entitled to his choice of the lots falling to his share. In all these grants two-sevenths of each township was reserved from alienation —one-seventh for any future use or disposition by the crown, and one-seventh for the support of a Protestant clergy; these reserves were systematically distributed through the grant.

The colonization of the Eastern Townships dates from 1774. Beginning on a very small scale, the settlement showed some increase between 1784 and 1799, and grew steadily from 1800 to 1807 when the French element from the seigniories began to settle side by side with the English families who had founded the townships. In 1875 French Canadians were living in considerable numbers in thirty-six of the English townships.[1]

Contemporary Colonization in Quebec

Besides the two movements that have now been considered, the first under seigneurial tenure in the St Lawrence valley and the second under the free and common socage tenure that prevailed not only in the Eastern Townships but also, at the same period, in a few localities of Gaspe and Bonaventure Counties, a contemporary movement away from the old settlements had opened some absolutely new districts to agricultural enterprise. From this third movement—the third period of agricultural history in Quebec—have originated the settlements of the Lake St John and Chicoutimi country in 1840, of the Lake Timiskaming district in 1860, of the Matawan valley in 1863, of the Metapedia valley in 1870, and of the Lake Nomining district in 1880.

Climatic and Isothermal Conditions in Quebec

Booklets printed and sent to Europe with a view to the promotion of immigration generally describe the climate of Quebec as varying between extremes of temperature of $-30°$ and $+90°$ Fahrenheit, and state that the province has an average variation of climate differing little from the temperate climate of European countries of the same latitude. From an agricultural point of view, such a statement does not give a correct idea of the climate of Quebec, for with regard to

[1] The particulars given here concerning the Eastern Townships have been compiled from the following two books: C. Thomas, *Contributions to the History of the Eastern Townships*, Montreal, 1866; and Mrs C. M. Day, *History of the Eastern Townships*, Montreal, 1869.

climate and temperature the province might be divided into three distinct sections. One extends from Gaspe to Rimouski; another embraces the district between Rimouski and Three Rivers; and a third covers the territory stretching from Three Rivers westward to the boundaries of the province in Soulanges County. Thus all three follow the course of the St Lawrence River. The first has a very damp climate on account of its close proximity to the Atlantic Ocean; its temperature varies between −30° and +80° Fahrenheit. In this district the farmer can only count upon regular operations in the fields between May 20 and October 15. The second district is in this respect more favourable to the farmer, for it can be worked from May 5 to November 1. The temperature throughout the year varies between −30° and +90° Fahrenheit. The third district, that extending from Three Rivers to Soulanges County, has the widest variation of temperature (−27° to +93° Fahrenheit) and also the most extended limit of working days—from April 20 to November 20. Thus in a fair season the farmers from Gaspe to Rimouski may count upon nearly five months for agricultural work, from Rimouski to Three Rivers upon nearly six months, and from Three Rivers to Soulanges County upon seven months.

Information transmitted from generation to generation since the opening up of the colony tells of the sufferings of the first settlers from late frosts in the spring and early frosts in the fall in the days when there were only small clearings in the forest available for cultivation. The same state of affairs prevails still in the centres but recently opened to colonization. That the climate of Quebec is so severe is not surprising to those who realize that while the city of Montreal, the latitude of which is below 46°, is farther south in latitude than Paris in France, it is on the same isothermal line as Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, which lies above latitude 59°.

Agriculture in Quebec in the Seventeenth Century

The chronicles of the history of Quebec in the seventeenth century testify to the rapidity of the progress of agriculture even when the colony was still in its incipient stage. Cham-

plain speaks of fine wheat cut in Quebec City in 1616 for transportation to France. Father le Jeune writes in 1636 that wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas and all kinds of vegetables were sown in the colony and gave good crops, and that good apples were being grown by Louis Hébert; while Pierre Boucher, writing in 1663, says that wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, tares, vetches, timothy, beans (haricots), buckwheat, flax, hemp, Indian corn, sunflowers, horse-beans, turnips, beets, carrots, parsnips, oyster plant, and all varieties of cabbage except cauliflowers were grown at that time in New France; and he finds in the gardens almost all the vegetables known in Europe and many flowers.

The Introduction of Domestic Animals

The first cattle imported by Champlain in 1608 were no doubt from Normandy, for he had sailed from Honfleur, a seaport of Normandy, and cannot be supposed to have gone far afield for the cattle that he took over to New France. The French-Canadian cattle that now graze throughout the Province of Quebec are the descendants of those brought by Champlain, and the term 'Quebec Jerseys' frequently applied to the French-Canadian breed of cattle, especially by English writers, is therefore erroneous.

Father le Jeune in the *Relation des Jésuites* of 1636 speaks of cows and oxen in Quebec. Boucher, writing in 1663, says that oxen and cows, pigs, sheep, dogs, cats, rats (these presumably to feed the cats), hens, turkeys and pigeons had been brought from France. Horses were imported at a later date. The first to arrive from France is mentioned in *Le Journal des Jésuites*: 'The first ship arrived on June 20 [1647] at Tadoussac . . . this ship brought the first horse, presented by the habitants to the Governor' [M. de Montmagny]. This animal was for a long time the only one of his kind on the shores of the St Lawrence. There was no importation of horses until July 1665. Further consignments arrived in 1667 and 1670, sent by the king of France, Louis XIV, and were given to the habitants on condition that the owners should feed them for three years, and in

case of loss of the animal through carelessness should pay two hundred livres to the king's receiver.

Horse-breeding in New France is said to have been attended with much success in the second half of the seventeenth century; according to Gagnon an importation of twelve horses in 1665 had produced one hundred and forty-five in 1679, two hundred and eighteen in 1688, and in 1698 six hundred and eighty-four.

This French-Canadian horse of the seventeenth century won a high reputation, and for a century and a half was considered the best horse in Canada. This is the cause of its almost complete disappearance in Quebec, for all the best stallions of the breed were constantly bought by Americans, and of the very small number still left, the pure descent from their first ancestors, said to be the Normandy or Breton bidets, is doubtful.

The sheep imported to New France were a small hardy breed from Brittany, slow to fatten, though giving very good meat, with wool rather long, coarse, and usually white. This animal has never thriven in Quebec, mainly on account of continual inbreeding. The pigs imported were of a very coarse breed, common in Europe at that time, with long legs, narrow back, very long head and long thin neck, slow to fatten but very hardy and prolific.

Later Importations of Domestic Animals

The true French-Canadian breed of cattle, which has had its herd-book since 1886, is now in good company. Quebec to-day counts eight other breeds of cattle. Ayrshires and Shorthorns came in 1830, Galloways and Herefords in 1850, Jerseys in 1865, Guernseys and Polled Angus in 1878, and Holsteins in 1881. The French-Canadian horse, as we have seen, has almost disappeared from the province. Its place has been taken—the dates of introduction being approximate—by the Clydesdale, 1840; Percheron, 1855; Suffolk, 1868; Shire, 1883; Anglo-Norman, Norman and Breton in 1889; and Ardennais in 1902.

It has often been said that up to forty years ago the

Quebec farmer never kept enough cattle in proportion to the land that he had under tillage. On the other hand, the breeding of horses was so freely indulged in that, as early as 1709, only forty-four years after the first importation, the intendant, Raudot, had to issue an ordinance forbidding the habitants of the 'government' (or district) of Montreal to keep more than two horses or mares and one foal on each farm, an exception being made in favour of public drivers, who might keep as many horses as were necessary for their work. In 1757, when there was very little for the troops in Quebec to eat, horse-flesh was used as food, and Montcalm wrote in his diary on December 9: 'It is in the political interests of the colony that the breeding of horses be diminished, the habitants having too many of them and not applying themselves enough to the raising of cattle.'

No new breed of sheep entered Quebec after the importation from France already noticed until about 1790. From that year to about 1805 sheep were brought from the United States by the American immigrants. These were cross-bred animals of various breeds. Then, by about 1850, pure Merinos, Leicesters, and Southdowns were imported from Ontario to the Montreal district. After 1854 came the pure Cotswolds; in 1880 the Shropshires; and later on the Oxfords and the Lincolns.

It was about 1835, according to William Evans, that the Berkshire breed of pigs was introduced in the district of Montreal, the coarse breed imported from France in the seventeenth century being until then the only kind raised by Quebec farmers. The introduction of the other foreign breeds, American and English, such as the Chesterwhite, the Essex, the Poland-China and the Yorkshire, may be attributed to the influence of the Chamber of Agriculture, organized in 1853. The last to be introduced, the Tamworth, a bacon pig, has appeared since 1895.

Land-clearing and Tillage of the Soil

The first work that confronted the French who settled upon the soil of Quebec was the clearing of the forest that

covered their lands. This was no trifling task, especially for natives of a country where land-clearing had long been a forgotten art. It was done, and done heartily, on a system which still prevails in the newly settled regions of the province. The trees were felled either in the fall of the year or in spring. As soon as there had been a sufficient spell of dry weather, the settler fired his felling (*abatis*) to clear it of the more cumbersome part of the felled trees; a little later the remains of the unburned trunks were heaped together and cleared away by a second firing.[1] If the work is done in the fall or early in the spring, wheat, oats or white turnip seed, subsequently sown broadcast among the stumps and harrowed into the soil with a narrow brush-harrow, generally produce excellent crops.

Two crops of this nature were harvested. The third consisted of native grasses and hay composed of indigenous plants varying with the nature of the soil. In the early days of the colony, before the importation of European flora, the gramineous plants found included beach grass, bent fox-tail grass, blue joint grass, fescues, holy and sweet-scented vernal grasses, lyme grasses, meadow grasses, orchard grass, panic grasses, rush, spreading millet grass, wild timothy, as well as some indigenous leguminous plants such as white clover, stone clover, the four-tufted, American, Carolina and slender vetches, and wild peas. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, however, imported forage and hay and leguminous plant seeds were used for seeding the newly cleared prairie land. Hay was generally grown for four years, and the land was then pastured for two years more. Then, after the lapse of eight years, the stumps were rotten enough to be rooted up easily, and the land was put under the plough.

For two centuries and a half the system of tillage adopted by the French-Canadian habitant changed but little. It consisted in ploughing half the total acreage of the farm in three consecutive years. This half was sown for the most part with cereals, a very small proportion being set aside for roots; and during these three years the other half of the

[1] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries much of the ashes was used for making potash or black salt, for which there was a ready market.

land was kept for hay and fresh pasture for the farm animals. In the fourth year the pasture land was ploughed and the ploughed land allowed to become pasturage for three years, and so on. Very few animals were kept in proportion to the area of the farm—a few cows and horses, a small flock of sheep, a few pigs and fowls. As a result, the farmer never had much manure with which to enrich his land, and what little there was he devoted to his root plots. Potatoes, now grown in great quantities, were unknown in the seventeenth century and were first cultivated in 1758.

This system of agriculture was not very rational, but the soil of New France was so fertile that for more than a century the farmers of Quebec had continuous good crops. Cereals, roots, hay and pasturage were always plentiful, and the evidence of Peter Kalm, a Swedish naturalist who visited Canada in 1749, to the effect that merchants of Quebec were then exporting flour, wheat and peas, may be taken as proof that the country was producing more than was necessary for the consumption of its inhabitants.

In agricultural industries the province has always been active. Flax and wool have been used from the earliest days in Quebec for making clothes. Butter and cheese have always been manufactured, and, according to La Hontan, maple sugar[1] has been one of the regular products of the industry of the province since about 1690. On the shores of the St Lawrence every farmer is a fisherman ; there is a permanent trade in eels, herrings, shad, salmon, and even porpoise, while the refuse of the fisheries, with the seaweed gathered at low tide, is used as manure to fertilize the soil. The apple industry has flourished from the time of Louis Hébert to the annual exportation by Montrealers of the present day of their unequalled Fameuse apples.

Distress in Quebec between 1760 and 1850

There is one gloomy period in the history of agriculture of Quebec, the ninety years following immediately upon the Conquest, from 1760 to 1850. By the Cession of Canada

[1] Benjamin Sulte, ' Histoire du sucre d'érable,' *Revue Canadienne*, April 1911.

sixty-five thousand French Canadians came under British rule. Their fortunes were at a low ebb; the majority of them were ruined; they had been abandoned by many of the nobles, influential citizens, officers and men of education, whose forced or voluntary departure from the country had deprived the habitants of valuable knowledge and experience. The French Canadians, however, did not allow themselves to become discouraged. Helped by their clergy, they set themselves to the regeneration of their devastated farms and worked energetically to repair their losses. They possessed, however, no knowledge of progressive farming, and their ideas of agriculture were no more advanced in 1850 than they had been before the Conquest. They still grew their grain without any fertilization worthy of the name, still made hay in meadows never seeded with grass or clover. Nor was this all. The population had increased so rapidly that for many years there were no new arable lands available for agriculture in the seigniories on the shores of the St Lawrence. Properties were divided, and the soil that had at first been so rich became exhausted and yielded smaller and poorer crops each year. The uncultivated lands of the crown were closed to exploitation by the absence of roads. Trade and the liberal professions were overcrowded; and industry languished from want of capital and initiative.

The inevitable result began to show itself in 1832 and was made the more conspicuous by the troubles of 1837. The emigration from Quebec to the United States assumed large proportions during the first years under the Union; between 1845 and 1849 twenty thousand French Canadians left their native soil. Later on there was an equally inevitable reaction.

The Homes, Implements and Clothing of the Quebec Farmer

Before 1850 the dwelling-place of the Quebec habitant underwent but little change. The first habitation of the pioneer was, and is still, what is called a shanty. The shanty was (and is) generally twelve feet wide and fifteen feet long;

it was invariably built of logs uniform in size and length, laid one on top of the other, with the ends notched to fit into the next log and thus to bind the whole structure firmly together; the interstices between the logs were filled with pieces of wood and moss and then plastered with clay; the roof was covered with hemlock bark.[1] Pierre Boucher describes various types of homes built by the first farmers after the land was cleared; some were entirely of stone, and covered with boards placed on pine trusses; others were built of scantlings or framework walled up with stone; others were constructed wholly of wood; all were covered with boards.

The interior of the old French house was simple and is reproduced in many of the country houses of Quebec at the present day. There was only one living room, lighted by three windows. Here the whole family slept and took their meals. At the end of the room, close to the wall, was the father's and mother's bed. In another corner a folding bed served as a seat during the day and a bed for the children at night, the cover lifting off like the cover of a trunk. In the wall, generally on the right of the entrance, was a stone chimney-place, provided with a pot-hanger supporting a kettle for cooking the food; the cast-iron stoves manufactured at the forges and foundries of St Maurice did not appear till about 1737.[2]

The barns were wooden buildings of a long and narrow type, usually about fifty feet long by twenty wide, covered with thatched roofs, the ceiling of the part used as a stable being always very low. Behind many of the barns still existing may be seen windmills with wooden sails, used as motors for the threshing machines set up inside the barns; but these are an innovation of the nineteenth century, all grain being threshed in the early days with the flail. Near almost every house was an oven, made of clay and covered with a board roof; these are still to be found in many parts of Eastern Quebec.

Implements were very scarce for the first two hundred years. There were, of course, ploughs, harrows, mattocks,

[1] Mrs C. M. Day, *History of the Eastern Townships*, p. 165.

[2] *Voyage de Kalm en Amérique*, Marchand's edition, 1880, p. 120.

shovels, spades, hand rakes and forks, but all home-made and very clumsy in appearance. For many years, says Kalm, the plough was fitted with wheels almost as heavy as those of a tumbril, though smaller; the whole implement was made of wood, the mould-boards and land-side pieces being covered with iron plating, though later on these, as well as the sole, were made of cast-iron; thus these early ploughs were evidently very heavy and imperfect instruments. The harrow was triangular in shape, with two sides six feet in length and the third four feet. Being, like the plough, constructed entirely of wood, it had no tines, but only wooden teeth five inches long and five inches apart.[1] Forks, shovels and rakes were all made of wood. The plumping-mill was a curious instrument in use on many farms for crushing the grains of corn and hulling the barley for use in soups, etc. It consisted of a hardwood log, about three feet long and two and a half feet in diameter, standing on end, the top being hollowed out by fire until it provided a hole of sufficient capacity to contain about two gallons of grain, serving as a mortar, and of a pestle also made of hardwood. The device is believed to have been copied from the Indians.

In the house of almost every habitant was a loom, on which were woven the various homespun stuffs, coarse linen and flannel made from the home-grown flax and wool; for nearly two centuries this loom made every article of wearing apparel used by the entire family of the habitant. Hand-cards, distaffs and spinning-wheels are still to be seen on many farms of Eastern Quebec. Until the introduction of matches, every house kept its steel, flint and tinder.

The early farmers of Quebec wore coarse-flax linen shirts, and trousers, waistcoats and smocks of some heavy homespun woollen material, and in winter heavy rough coats, held together at the waist by a woollen sash, brightly coloured and woven in a special way—the *ceinture flêchée*; their head-gear generally consisted of a knitted woollen tuque, grey or red. The women wore short skirts of some lighter homespun woollen stuff or flannel, and blouses of the same material. In winter they wore fur hoods, and some of the men also wore

[1] *Voyage de Kalm en Amérique*, Marchand's edition, 1880, pp. 16 and 143.

fur caps; in summer men and women both wore home-plaited straw hats. Very few of these home-made articles of dress are now to be seen.

Agricultural Education and Associations

As early as 1668, at about the time when he founded the Quebec Little Seminary, Monseigneur de Laval, the first bishop of Quebec, opened an industrial school at St Joachim in the locality of Grande-Ferme (now in Montmorency County), near Quebec. Here various handicrafts and especially the rudiments of agriculture were taught to the young sons of farmers; for the great bishop realized thus early that the rich soil must be systematically treated. In 1715, unfortunately, the school in connection with the establishment at St Joachim had to close its doors, and the cause of agricultural education made no further headway until a society was founded in 1789 by Lord Dorchester, then governor of Canada. This society printed, both in English and French, a pamphlet in Quebec in 1790 under the title of *Papers and Letters on Agriculture recommended to the Attention of the Canadian Farmers by the Agricultural Society in Canada*, in which a plan was proposed for the establishment of an agricultural society in the Province of Quebec, a circular being sent to the priests of the country parishes asking them to favour the organization of such a society. The major number of the papers printed in the pamphlet deal with the use of plaster of Paris as manure, with the cultivation of hemp, and especially with the treatment of seed-wheat requiring to be freed of smut, a blight then prevailing under the form of *carie* or *blé noir*. The membership of this society, the first of its kind in Lower Canada, numbered ninety-six, forty-one of whom were French Canadians. In 1830 J. F. Perrault, clerk of the Court of King's Bench, published a *Traité de la grande et la petite culture*, and in 1839 a *Traité d'Agriculture adapté au climat du Bas-Canada* appeared from the same hand. Perrault also opened a farm-school at Charlesbourg in 1833, but was obliged to close its doors after two years. In 1835

William Evans of Montreal, who in 1830 had been secretary to the Society of Agriculture of Quebec, published both in English and French *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Agriculture in Canada*, and the same author published an agricultural paper—*The Canadian Agricultural Journal*—in both languages from 1843 to 1856.

In 1847 the Canadian legislature authorized the formation of agricultural societies, the holding of agricultural exhibitions and the buying of farm stock and selected seeds. Further steps were taken by the legislature in 1850 and 1851 by obtaining reports of special committees appointed to consider the state of agriculture in Lower Canada. These reports led, in 1853, to the creation of the department of Agriculture and the Board of Agriculture, and to the authorization of the establishment of agricultural schools and model farms. The first report of the Board of Agriculture, published in the same year, shows that there existed at that time fifty-three organized agricultural societies in Lower Canada. From 1847 to 1860 J. X. Perrault published a paper in Montreal under the title of *L'Agriculteur*, and from 1861 to 1867 another agricultural paper named *La revue agricole* with an English edition called *The Lower Canada Agriculturist*; he also published in 1865 a book entitled *Traité d'Agriculture pratique*. His paper was succeeded in 1869 by a new agricultural review—*La semaine agricole*. An agricultural paper first published at Kamouraska in 1861 and afterwards at Ste Anne-de-la-Pocatière, in Kamouraska County, by Firmin H. Proulx, under the title of *La Gazette des Campagnes*, lived for thirty-four years.

The first agricultural school of Canada, and the second of the North American continent, was opened in 1859 at Ste Anne-de-la-Pocatière by the Rev. Abbé Pilote. This school is still in existence; it was affiliated to Laval University in January 1912. Another school of agriculture was opened at L'Assomption in 1867 and survived until 1899; a third, inaugurated in Richmond in 1875 for the sons of English farmers, closed its doors in 1889, to be succeeded in 1896 by an English agricultural school at Compton, but this in turn went out of existence in 1906. In 1890 the silent monks,

or Trappist Fathers, of Oka, opened a school that became known later as the Oka Agricultural Institute. In 1908 this school was affiliated to Laval University and is now quite prosperous. In 1908, too, a magnificent English agricultural college in affiliation with McGill University was opened at Ste Anne-de-Bellevue, in Jacques-Cartier County, through the munificence of Sir William Macdonald of Montreal. These three institutions, at Ste Anne-de-la-Pocatière, Oka and Ste Anne-de-Bellevue, provide the sons of the Quebec farmers with the highest agricultural education obtainable.

There are also three schools in the province in which the daughters of farmers may receive education of the highest order in agricultural household science. The first of these is that opened in 1882 by the Ursuline Sisters of Roberval, Lake St John County, the first school of its kind to be established either in America or Europe; the second forms part of the Macdonald College already mentioned; and the third was opened in 1905 by the Reverend Sisters of the Congregation at St Paschal, Kamouraska County, in Eastern Quebec.

An Era of Regeneration and Progress in Quebec Agriculture

A comparison of present agricultural conditions in Quebec with the situation at the time of the Conquest or even in 1850 shows a marvellous development. This progress, during the last sixty years, has been made under the auspices of the Board of Agriculture and the department of Agriculture organized, as has been noted, in 1853 by the Quebec government. Agricultural societies have encouraged the breeding of good farm animals of every description, the introduction of the best seeds, and the use of modern and improved implements and machinery. The hand scythe disappeared before the mowing machine, the sickle before the reaping machine, the old wooden ploughs, harrows, forks and shovels before the iron and steel implements of modern manufacture; the hand-roller, the horse-hoe, the horse cultivator have made their appearance, and the whole agricultural community has become imbued with the spirit of organization.

The true apostle of Quebec agriculture since 1872 has been Barnard, who took up the work in succession to Evans and the Perraults, who did such splendid service after 1830. Barnard lectured on agriculture in all the counties of the Province of Quebec; in three series of these lectures, delivered in 1872, 1873 and 1874, under the auspices of the Quebec department of Agriculture, he advocated, first the organization of farmers' clubs and the development of agricultural societies. By 1883 there were forty-six farmers' clubs, and at the present time there are six hundred and fifty-six. Of agricultural societies there was only one in 1847, while to-day there are seventy-seven. Barnard also made known the good qualities of the French-Canadian breeds of horses and cows. In 1875 he wrote an elementary treatise under the name of *Causeries agricoles*, which became in a second edition printed ten years later a substantial book entitled *Le livre des cercles agricoles*, one of the best manuals of agriculture to be found in America. Unwearying in his love of the work, Barnard, then director of Agriculture, undertook in 1877 the publication of an agricultural review, *Le Journal d'Agriculture Illustré*, that succeeded a journal published since 1875 at St Hyacinthe by A. Kerouack. This he was invited to publish for, and under the auspices of, the Council of Agriculture of the Province of Quebec, which superseded the old Board of Agriculture in 1869. This review, which has had a distinct English edition since 1879, is at the present time read by over seventy-five thousand farmers.

The system of lectures inaugurated by Barnard was an absolutely new departure in agricultural education on this continent. It now, however, has become general, and a numerous staff of agricultural lecturers is engaged by the Quebec government. Under this influence, agriculture, horticulture, fruit-growing, bee-keeping and forestry are making vast developments, and societies are springing up in every corner of the province.

One of these societies merits special mention—the Agricultural Missionaries, organized in 1894 by the Catholic bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec. This society

is composed of parish priests, one or more being selected in each diocese by the local bishop, for the purpose of taking in hand the interests of agriculture among the farmers. They attempt to show that idleness, want of method, the drink habit and luxury are the worst foes of agriculture; they speak with authority and are listened to with wonderful results. Alongside this benevolent and patriotic society a large number of other associations are showing the way to progress. According to the *Almanach des cercles agricoles* for 1912, there are, besides the Agricultural Missionaries and the seventy-seven agricultural societies and six hundred and fifty-six farmers' clubs already mentioned, nineteen agricultural co-operative societies, twenty-five syndicates for raising farm stock, eighteen fruit-growing stations, thirteen primary schools of agricultural household science, two federal experimental agricultural farms, sixteen horticultural and fruit-growing societies, one veterinary school, one experimental union of Quebec farmers, two apicultural societies, one society for the protection of plants, one society of vegetable growers, one general Breeders' Association, and, last but not least, one provincial Dairy Association.

The Dairying Industry in Quebec

Butter was churned very early in the history of the province at Quebec, and Kalm, in his trip through New France in 1749, found a home-made variety of cheese in the Island of Orleans. Cream cheese has also been made from time immemorial in the province, especially in Rouville and Chambly Counties, and since 1880 a very good soft cheese like the 'Port du Salut' of France has been manufactured at the Oka Trappist Monastery.

The organization of butter and cheese factories as distinct from private dairies dates from 1861 in the Province of Quebec. At that time the milk of 328,370 cows was used in the farmers' dairies to make 15,406,949 pounds of butter and 686,297 pounds of cheese. Quebec was then exporting butter, but importing cheese. The outlook of the dairying industry in the sixties was not encouraging, for progress was

impossible until existing conditions were radically altered. Most farmers kept cows, and the butter and cheese were made by the women of the household, who, after supplying the needs of the family, 'traded' the surplus for groceries and other requirements at a valuation often lower than the cost of production. The supply was determined by the amount of time that the farmer's wife and daughter could spare from other arduous duties.[1]

The first English cheese factory was opened in Quebec in 1865—only one year after the first in Ontario—by C. H. Hill at Dunham, Missisquoi County. The first French Canadians to follow the lead of Hill were Fregeau Brothers, who began operations in 1872 at Rougemont, Rouville County. The first butter factory opened in Canada was that of a farmers' syndicate at Athelstane, Huntingdon County, in 1873; and the first combined butter and cheese factory in Quebec was started in 1881 by Rossignol and Chapais at St Denis, Kamouraska County, in Eastern Quebec. The first centrifugal cream separator imported from Europe to America came from Denmark and was used by Lieutenant-Colonel Henri Duchesnay at Ste Marie, Beauce County, in 1882.

In 1881 there were in Quebec 162 butter and cheese factories with a revenue of $863,803; in 1891, 728 factories with a revenue of $2,918,527; in 1901, 1992 factories giving a revenue of $12,874,621; and in 1911, 3040 factories. There are three dairymen's associations in the province—the Dairymen's Association of the Province of Quebec, founded in 1882 with the Hon. P. B. de la Bruère as first president and J. de L. Taché as secretary; the Dairymen's Association of the District of Huntingdon, founded in 1883, with D. M. McPherson as first president; and the Dairymen's Association of the District of Bedford, founded in 1885, with H. S. Foster as first president.

In 1890 the Quebec Dairymen's Association organized, for educational purposes, a system of factory syndicates to undertake the inspection of factories, and in 1910 seventy inspectors, all bearing diplomas obtained from the association, made

[1] Ruddick, *The Dairying Industry in Canada*, 1911, p. 23.

local inspections in seventy syndicates. The work is under the supervision of two general inspectors.

Since 1881 the Province of Quebec has never been without a dairy school. The first was organized in 1881, before the foundation of the Quebec Dairymen's Association, at the factory of Rossignol and Chapais at St Denis, and was the first of its kind in America. The second school was opened in 1882 at the Ste Marie butter factory. Both were the result of the energies of Barnard. In 1883 the Quebec Dairymen's Association organized a dairy school in a local factory at St Hyacinthe; it organized another at St Hughes, Bagot County, and ultimately opened in 1893 a large provincial school, which at present operates in a fine new building erected in 1905. The development of the butter and cheese industry has revolutionized farming in Quebec. The motto of the farmer of the Province of Quebec is now 'Agriculture with Dairying.'

J. B. Laberge.

FOREST RESOURCES

FOREST RESOURCES

The Extent of the Timber Lands

THE timber resources of the Province of Quebec are enormous. With the exception of the territory drained by the Ontario tributaries of the Ottawa, the vast forest systems of the valleys of the Saguenay, the St Maurice and the Ottawa are all the property of the province. The timber lands, in area nearly a hundred thousand square miles, spread over the wide extent of country watered by these rivers and their tributaries, constitute the great forest *par excellence* of Canada. The Saguenay discharges the drainage of 27,000 square miles, and is navigable for ships of the largest tonnage for upwards of sixty miles. Between the valley of the Saguenay and the next great lumber region, that of the St Maurice, there is interposed a territory of 8000 square miles, the surplus waters of which are carried into the St Lawrence by a number of isolated but considerable streams. The St Maurice drains an area of 21,000 square miles, and between its estuary and the eastern extremity of the Island of Montreal, where the north branch of the Ottawa joins the St Lawrence, a small valley of 9600 square miles intervenes, drained into the St Lawrence by its own streams, some of which are from seventy to eighty miles long and are good floatable rivers. The valley of the Ottawa covers an area of 60,000 square miles ; the sources of this river overlap the sources of the St Maurice, and are themselves overlapped by the sources of the Saguenay, the head-waters of these rivers being within two days' journey, or about forty miles, of each other. For over a century—since June 11, 1806, when the first raft of pine left the mouth of the Gatineau—the valley of the Ottawa on the Quebec

side of the river has been regarded as the chief centre of the pine industry of Canada.

Quebec's other remaining forests are those in the valleys of the Bersimis and the other rivers flowing into the St Lawrence from the north, below the Saguenay, those in the basin of James Bay and of the Hamilton River on the north, and those of the Eastern Townships, of Gaspesia and of the intervening territory on the south side of the St Lawrence.

Portions of Quebec's timber forests are private property ; other portions have been leased by the government to lumbermen with the right, subject to certain restrictions, to cut timber thereon ; but by far the larger part of the forests is still the absolute property of the province.

The private woodlands of the Province of Quebec include those owned by the farming community and those forming part of the various seigneurial domains, that is to say, tracts of land that were ceded by the crown in the early days of the colony to private individuals or to religious or other corporations. As a rule these individual holdings are of small extent, rarely exceeding fifty acres, except in the case of Anticosti Island and of certain seigneurial domains such as those of the Quebec Seminary and of the Joly de Lotbinière estate. It has been stated in official circles that the whole area of these private forests does not exceed six million acres. About half of the timber of these properties is hard wood, the other half soft wood. The total value of the privately owned forests in Quebec is estimated by the Provincial Forestry Service at $25,000,000, and they produce an annual revenue of some $3,000,000. The maple sugaries alone are worth at least $1,300,000 a year, and private owners of wood lots sell each year more than 500,000 cords of pulpwood valued at two dollars per cord.

Early History of Forestry in Quebec

The forests that have been leased to lumbermen are usually described as ' timber limits.' Their total area is 70,058 square miles or forty-five million acres, and they constitute the richest and most accessible forests of the province.

The management of these crown timber forests has passed through a number of interesting changes. In the earliest years of the French régime no special regard seems to have been paid to the preservation of the forest, though much anxiety was manifested by the court of France for the reservation of oak timber for the king and for the purposes of the royal navy. In nearly all the seigneurial grants this condition was imposed, and in some cases pine for masting was also reserved. Thomas Southworth, director of Forestry for Ontario, quotes a permission given in 1731 to Sieur Abbé le Page to cut ' in the seigniories of Berthier and Dautray, two thousand feet of oak wood following plans and methods which we have caused to be forwarded, to serve for the construction of war vessels of 500 tons, which the king designs to have constructed in Quebec.' This shows that the French crown did not hesitate to utilize the reservations of timber which it made in its patents of seigneurial grants. The British authorities, like the French, seem to have regarded the forests of Canada as a source of supply for naval purposes, and, in 1763, very definite instructions were sent from the home government to the first governor, James Murray, as to the disposition of the forest wealth of the colony. He was instructed to lay out townships of about twenty thousand acres in extent along the St Lawrence, and in each township he was to reserve for the crown land for military barracks where needed, but ' more particularly for the Growth and Production of Naval Timber, if there are any Wood Lands fit for that Purpose.' He was further instructed that

> Whereas it hath been further represented to Us, that a great part of the Country in the Neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, and between that Lake and the River St Lawrence, abounds with Woods producing Trees fit for Masting for Our Royal Navy, and other useful and necessary Timber for Naval Construction ; You are therefore expressly directed and required to cause such Parts of the said Country or any other within your Government, that shall appear upon a Survey to abound with such Trees and shall lye convenient for Water Carriage, to be reserved to Us, and to use your utmost Endeavour to prevent any Waste being committed upon

> the said Tracts, by punishing in due Course of Law any Persons who shall cut down or destroy any Trees growing thereon ; and you are to consider and advise with Our Council, whether some Regulation that shall prevent any Saw Mills whatever from being erected within your Government, without a Licence from you, or the Commander in Chief of Our said Province, for the Time being, may not be a Means of preventing all Waste and Destruction in such Tracts of Land as shall be reserved to Us for the Purposes aforesaid.[1]

It was not till 1826 that the imperial authorities thought of deriving any fiscal benefit from the vast timber resources of the country. Licences were issued and small stumpage dues, from a farthing to a penny a foot, were exacted. Their collection was very imperfect, however, and up to 1840 the public domain was extensively plundered by the public officials. The contractors for building ships for the British Admiralty were authorized to take without charge the timber reserved by the crown, and they did not hesitate to sell the privilege to others.

The Management of Timber Resources

The first leases were for but a single year. They were later made renewable on payment, as a guarantee, of one-quarter of the estimated stumpage dues for the year. Later on a bonus was charged for the privilege of obtaining leases. Stumpage dues were increased in 1849, 1851, 1868, 1880 and 1910.

It was only in 1868, after the government of the province had taken possession of its forests, that the leases of these valuable concessions were all put up at auction. Bonuses varying from $8 to $1000 per square mile have been obtained on these sales. From 1867, the date of Confederation, up to 1906, when Sir Lomer Gouin decided to dispose of no more timber lands belonging to the province, successive governments granted leases of 51,000 square miles of forest lands, in addition to the 19,000 miles which had been previously

[1] *Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791*, Shortt and Doughty, 1907, p. 144.

leased under the Union of the Provinces. The premiums or amount of 'bonuses,' as they are now called, on the leases of timber limits between 1867 and 1906 represented a sum of $3,250,000, or an average of about $63.74 per square mile.

Up to 1913 only one licence had been issued since 1906, when Premier Gouin declared against a continuance of the policy of selling or leasing timber limits, and this was rendered necessary by the construction of the National Transcontinental Railway. The old system followed in the province was, however, modified in this case along the lines followed in Ontario since 1904. The lease was made for a fixed period of five years. The belt of forest affected by it is one mile wide on each side of the railway. It stretches from the inter-provincial boundary between Ontario and Quebec on the west to the Weymontachingue limits on the St Maurice River on the east. The sealed tenders called for had to name the price offered by the bidders for stumpage dues on timber to be cut in that belt. The price obtained exceeded the hopes of the government, but, notwithstanding this fact, no further leases have been granted. The allotment in question covered an area of five hundred square miles.

In 1851 a tax, payable at each yearly renewal of a timber-cutting licence, was imposed and is known as ground rent. In 1868 this amounted to two dollars per square mile. In 1887 it was increased to three dollars and in 1910 to five dollars per square mile. In addition to this ground rent of the limit in question, the holders of timber licences have to pay stumpage dues to the government for all the timber cut by them upon their limits. These dues as well as the ground rent are changed from time to time, the stumpage dues varying according to the class of wood cut, and at the revision in 1910 they were almost doubled. This was done by the lieutenant-governor in council, who has the power to adopt from time to time the regulations he thinks proper with reference to the development of timber lands under licence, and to fix or alter the ground rent, dues or rates for the cutting of timber to be paid by the lessees. In order to ensure to the capital invested in this development the stability that it demands, all the succeeding governments since Confederation have

entered into undertakings with the lumbermen and the banks interested in their operations not to make any increase, for periods varying from ten to twenty years, in the rates of ground rents and stumpage dues. The present period is ten years. But the lieutenant-governor in council may at any time adopt regulations governing the development of the forests under licence ; and the government reserves the right to sell at all times, for agricultural purposes, any lot or lots believed to be suitable for agriculture that are covered by a lumberer's licence, if they are applied for with the avowed object of settlement. It is here that the most serious abuses complained of by both the government and the lumbermen creep in. Dishonest speculators have frequently applied for richly timbered lots under the pretence of settlement, merely to gain possession of the timber in question, deserting the land as soon as they could sell the timber on it. In some instances they have even sold the land with its timber back to the lumber merchant from whom it had been taken, at a greatly increased price.

Under the new tariff of stumpage dues all wood cut on crown lands in virtue of a licence is subject to the following charges : square, waney or flat timber per cubic foot—six cents for white pine, oak, hickory and walnut ; four cents for red pine, elm, ash, cedar, basswood, birch, maple and tamarac ; three cents for spruce, balsam, grey pine or Banksian pine, hemlock, white birch, aspen and poplar. Saw-logs and boom and dimension timber in the raw state pay $2 per thousand feet board measure if of white pine, oak, walnut or hickory, $1.40 if of red pine, elm, ash, cedar, basswood, birch, maple or tamarac, and $1.05 if spruce, balsam, grey or Banksian pine, hemlock, white birch, aspen or poplar. Firewood is charged twenty cents per cord of 128 cubic feet if hard wood and ten cents if soft wood. On rails not exceeding twelve feet in length, thirty cents per hundred is charged on cedar and fifteen cents on other varieties of timber. Cedar pickets pay fifteen cents per hundred, and pickets of other varieties of timber ten cents. Shingles pay twenty-five cents per thousand, and railway ties or sleepers five cents each. Neither these dues nor the present ground rent

of five dollars per square mile per annum is to be increased until September 1, 1920.

All timber now cut on crown lands has to be manufactured in Canada : it is to be converted into pulp or paper, deals or boards, or into any other article of trade or merchandise of which such timber is the raw material ; and whenever there is reason to believe that such timber is not intended to be so manufactured in this country, it may be seized and placed in charge of a guardian by any agent of the Crown Lands department, and may even be sold unless two good and sufficient sureties are promptly furnished to ensure that the timber in question shall be manufactured in Canada.

Licencees are forbidden to cut on crown lands white or red pine measuring less than thirteen inches, spruce, hemlock, cedar, maple, birch and other trees less than twelve inches, except balsam fir, which may be cut of any diameter, and swamp spruce and white birch, which may be cut of seven inches diameter at the stump, measured two feet above the ground. The amount of timber cut by limit holders is reported by them to the government, after measurement by duly licensed cullers, who have passed an examination before a board of examiners appointed by the government. Each measurer must take an oath of office, and his annual report must also be attested under oath. The government is thus assured of a certain control over the operations of the licence holder. Logs are measured according to a special log rule in use in the Province of Quebec, adopted in 1888 as a result of experiments made on the products of the sawing of twelve-foot logs of various diameters. This scale is about twelve per cent higher than that in use in Ontario, which is a combination of the Doyle and Scribner log rules. On the other hand, it is about eighteen per cent lower than that used in New Brunswick, which is peculiar to that province. The measuring unit used in these log rules is the foot board measure ; the square timber is measured by the cubic foot ; long timbers, such as masts, telegraph poles, etc., are measured by the lineal foot, and corded wood, such as pulp, fuel or spool wood, according to the English cord of 128 cubic feet.

From 1867 to 1911 the timber limits of the province

brought to the government in bonuses on prices of sales, in ground rents, in stumpage dues, in penalties, and upon transfers of leases or licences, etc., the sum of $31,680,000.

There still remain in the province 80,000,000 acres of forest land in absolute possession of the government, upon which no timber whatever has been cut, though some sections have been swept by forest fires, as in the case of many private lands and timber limits. No other country possesses such a large and valuable reserve of forest area. As long ago as 1894, with somewhat remarkable foresight, W. C. Edwards made the following estimate of the then existing and future value of Quebec's forest lands :

> My candid opinion is that the Province of Quebec has the best asset in North America. I will give you my reasons. There is more money made to-day in cutting timber in the Province of Ontario—far more—because the timber is more immediately available. There is more large timber and of better quality, but they have not got the young and growing timber that there is in the Province of Quebec. Now some regard the question this way : that when the pine timber is exhausted the lumber trade will cease. I do not so regard it at all. I regard it that all the timber on the limits will yet come in and be available as a commercial asset to the Province.

This utilization of what were at one time considered to be inferior woods, foretold by Senator Edwards nearly twenty years ago, has already come to pass, although Quebec's supply of pine timber is far from exhausted. In fact, it is estimated that the forests of the province still contain 50,000,000,000 feet of standing pine.

The annual cut of timber upon the limits leased from the government amounts to about 1,000,000,000 feet, and it is estimated that 500,000,000 feet is cut upon lands privately owned. In the opinion of the head of the Forestry Service, G. C. Piché, the present cut upon Quebec's crown lands could be increased by fifty per cent without exceeding the natural growth of the forest.

If this estimate is correct, Quebec ranks high among the Canadian provinces in the management and control of its

annual cut of timber, and must be considered an exception to the statement of H. R. MacMillan, of the Forestry branch of the Dominion department of the Interior at Ottawa, that 'if the forests of Canada are administered for another three or four decades as they are administered at present, it will be impossible for them to produce yearly such crops as that of 1909.' And again: 'All the symptoms which have ever been met with in history previous to the destruction of the forests of any country, now exist and daily increase in Canada.'

A Valuable Provincial Asset

In 1912, the last year for which the records of the cut of timber in Quebec are complete, a production of 677,215,000 feet of lumber, valued at $10,693,262, was reported from 842 mills. Most of those failing to report were small operators. The figures given show a reduction from those of 1911 of about ten per cent, or almost eighty million feet. Decreases in production took place in all the more important woods with the exception of white pine. Quebec increased its cut of this wood to over eighty million feet, ranking next to Ontario in its total output. Other increases to be noted are in the case of red pine, maple, beech, oak, and chestnut. Although there was a decreased production of spruce in Quebec in 1912, amounting to twelve per cent, yet the province was by far the largest producer in the Dominion. New Brunswick came next with twenty-five per cent of the total spruce of Canada to its credit as compared with Quebec's twenty-nine per cent. Seven hundred mills in the province of Quebec reported cutting spruce in 1912 out of the total of 1870 reporting in the Dominion. The hardwoods together formed a total of 92,733,000 feet, or 13·7 per cent of the total for the province, a greater proportion of hardwoods than in any other province. Of birch, which is Canada's most important hardwood, Quebec cut practically the half of the Dominion's output.

Twenty varieties of wood were cut in Quebec in 1912, and the spruce produced in the province contains a large proportion of red spruce (*Picea rubra*), especially in the

Eastern Townships; some black spruce is also included. It is worthy of note, as indicating the trend of prices, that the average price of lumber in Quebec was $1.61 per thousand feet higher in 1912 than in 1911.

The total value of the forests still remaining in the possession of the government has been estimated at $500,000,000. It is calculated that this forest wealth includes 50,000,000,000 feet of pine, 125,000,000,000 feet of spruce and balsam of saw-log size, 100,000,000,000 feet of pulpwood, 25,000,000,000 of cedar, and about the same amount of hardwoods. A certain proportion of this timber stands upon lands that have been set apart as forest reserves.

Some important forests still remain on the south bank of the St Lawrence, especially in the Gaspesian peninsula, but the great majority are situated on the north shore, where they form a continuation of the limits leased to lumbermen. A large part of these forest lands lies beyond the height-of-land, and occupies all the northern portion of the province. The topography of this region is exceedingly varied. Many plains are to be found, like the immense plateau that forms the watershed extending from Abitibi to Labrador; and there is also found much rolling country. But by far the greater part of this territory is practically unknown, so that it is impossible at present to say what proportion of these lands is likely to remain wooded and how much will be cultivated. It must not be forgotten that the farther one goes to the north in this territory, the more rapid is the diminution both in the variety of species and in the dimensions of the trees, so that beyond the 50th parallel very little forest is to be found, except in a few favoured localities. The principal trees are the white spruce, the black spruce, the jack pine, the aspen, and a little white birch and tamarac. Much of this forest land is still unexploited; but the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway must have a great influence on the development of this section of the province, and the forest industry will soon be established there. For the most part, the timber in this region is suitable only for the pulp industry.

The timber explorers, sent into Southern Ungava some

years ago by an Ottawa lumber concern, who explored down the Albany River to Hudson Bay and also the Hamilton River and the streams flowing into the lower St Lawrence from the north, reported some good timber in the immediate neighbourhood of all the streams, as well as in the Hamilton Inlet district, around Melville Bay and along the shores of the Hamilton River itself. Dr Low found the black spruce about Clearwater Lake to be scrubby, but Dr Bell reports both larch and white and black spruce in favourable localities between Hudson and Ungava Bays, in as high a latitude as 59°.

The forestry reserves of Quebec, to which reference has been made, have all been set apart since 1905, with the exception of the Laurentides National Park, which occupies a large part of the territory in the interior lying between the strip of settled land north of the city of Quebec and another strip just south of Lake St John. The more recently created reserves are: the Gaspe Park, containing 2523 square miles, covering the interior tableland of the Gaspe peninsula; the Rimouski Reserve of 1250 square miles; the Chaudière Reserve of 150 square miles; the Temiscouata Reserve, 227 square miles; the Bonaventure Reserve, 1733 square miles; the Labrador Reserve, 110,000 square miles; the Barachois Reserve, 113 square miles; the St Maurice Reserve, 21,121 square miles; the Ottawa Reserve, 27,652 square miles; and the Rivière-Ouelle Reserve, 340 square miles—making a total of 165,109 square miles, or, including the Laurentides National Park, a grand total of 107,767,253 acres.

The Premier Pulpwood Province of Canada

Quebec is the premier pulpwood province of Canada, because of its extensive spruce and balsam fir forests, abundant and cheap water-power, and plentiful supply of labour. Over seventy per cent of all the pulpwood cut in the Dominion is produced in the province. Fifty-seven per cent of the pulpwood manufactured in Canada as long ago as 1910 was produced here and consumed in the 25 Quebec pulp-mills

which reported the result of their operations. Nearly all the pulpwood exported from Canada prior to 1911, when the new regulation of 1909, prohibiting the export in unmanufactured form of timber taken from crown lands in Quebec, came into force, was also cut in this province. The importance of the regulation of 1909 may be judged from the fact that in the year prior to its coming into effect no less than 779,000 cords of Quebec pulpwood, valued at $5,090,000, were exported in an unmanufactured state. This would have supplied material for a year to 56 pulp-mills of the average size operating in Quebec. If all the pulpwood exported in 1910 had been reduced to pulp in Canada, it would have supplied 80 mills of the average size of those in the country, so that 131 mills instead of 51 would have been operating in the Dominion, employing labour and advancing Canadian industry.

If we turn to the records of the Forestry branch of the Dominion department of the Interior for 1909, we find that the pulpwood shipped from Canada, the bulk of which, consisting chiefly of spruce and poplar logs, came from the Province of Quebec, furnished 22·8 per cent of the entire pulpwood consumption of the United States. This means that 58 of the 253 pulp-mills of the United States employed help and paid profits on raw products furnished by Canada. The three most important pulpwood-consuming states of the Union benefited from Canada's resources as follows: New York drew 48 per cent of its pulpwood from Canadian forests, Maine 18 per cent, and New Hampshire 30 per cent.

From 943,141 cords of Canadian pulpwood sent to the United States 377,256 tons of mechanical pulp were made, and 282,992 tons of sulphite pulp. The value of these 660,248 tons of pulp, for which, in the form of pulpwood, Canada received $6,210,042, was, at the average price ($20.49 per ton) paid in 1910 by United States importers of wood-pulp, $13,528,481. Thus Canada (and chiefly the Province of Quebec) did not receive one-half the amount she would have received if all her pulpwood had been converted into pulp on Canadian soil. As the United States does not

export 2 per cent of the amount it imports, there need be no fear that a market for Canadian wood-pulp would be lacking. The United States consumers must now pay the Province of Quebec $20.49 per ton for wood-pulp instead of $6.58 per cord for pulpwood, excepting for the comparatively small amount cut on private lands, or they must manufacture the pulp for themselves on Canadian soil.

In 1903, from 720,000 to 750,000 cords of pulpwood were cut in this province, of which 259,231 cords were taken from crown lands, and only 70,576 cords were exported. Of the 342,745 cords of pulpwood used in the Province of Quebec in 1910, 239,824 cords, or seven-tenths of the whole, were spruce, 96,474 balsam fir, and the balance hemlock and poplar. About the same proportion marked the cut of 1912.

The government regulation prohibiting the export of timber cut on crown lands in Quebec, unless in a manufactured state, has already resulted in the establishment in various parts of the province of enormous pulp and paper plants, and in the enlargement of previously existing mills. It is believed that there is a bright future for this industry, particularly in the northern portions of the province. Here are situated large tracts of crown lands at present unleased. Portions of them, it is true, have been ravaged by forest fires, but there has been no cutting on them and they are largely covered with resinous trees, of which spruce and jack pine are the most abundant. The Forestry department has estimated that the first cutting of these forests would produce at least one hundred million cords of pulpwood, and it has also been calculated that at least five million tons of paper, or nearly one-half of the world's supply, can be manufactured annually and economically from the forests of Quebec, exclusive of those in its new Ungava territory. There is no doubt that a large number of pulp and paper mills will be erected in that territory within the next few years, for the government intends to render these lands as available as possible; and while these forests have so far contributed nothing to the treasury, it is hoped that in the comparatively near future the province will receive from them a revenue of at least a million dollars a year. Up to

the present many of these tracts have been virtually inaccessible, but the approaching completion of the Transcontinental Railway will solve the transportation problem in many districts.

There is also known to be an enormous quantity of pulpwood along the banks of many of the rivers flowing into the lower St Lawrence from the north, as well as in the valley of the Hamilton River, along the different rivers flowing into Hamilton Inlet and Melville Bay, and on the mountains surrounding Hamilton Inlet. Senator Edwards, who has expended considerable sums of money for explorations in the Labrador peninsula, states that he knows of no territory that has a larger area of pulpwood than that around Hamilton Inlet and Melville Bay, and for a certain distance into the interior.

Some of the finest water-powers in the world are to be found in the heart of these pulpwood areas, only waiting to be harnessed by means of electricity to mills and machinery for the manufacture of pulp and paper. Those in the St Maurice and Lake St John regions, on the Ottawa and Lièvre Rivers, in the Timiskaming region and on the Manikuagan River, are almost innumerable, and some of them are of immense capacity. According to Senator Edwards,

> The Province of Quebec owns water-powers beyond and far beyond any province or state on the North American continent. The cost of manufacturing with coal varies from $45 to $60 and more per horse-power per year, dependent upon the locality and condition. Electrical power can be supplied in simply untold quantities in Quebec for about $15 per horse-power. I believe the day will come when the Province of Quebec, portions of Ontario, and other portions of the country that I am not so familiar with—certainly the whole Province of Quebec—will be the manufacturing centres of the American continent.

Competent forestry and engineering authorities estimate that Quebec can develop some eight million horse-power from its waterfalls, of which only some three hundred thousand has so far been developed.

Over 100,000 workmen are now employed in the timber trade and in its allied industries in the province. In 1908 the estimate was 78,000, and since that time there has been a remarkable increase in the number of saw, pulp and paper mills, as well as in the number of men employed in car-building and in the manufacture of furniture. Over 20,000 men are usually employed in the woods during the winter season, and many thousand log-drivers in the spring, and thousands of saw-mill men, railway and schooner men and ship labourers during the seasons of milling and navigation.

The above figures have been compiled chiefly from statistics of the lumbering, shipping and milling and manufacturing interests, and therefore have not taken into consideration the thousands of farmers and other small owners of timbered lands, who find it profitable during a part of the winter season to cut and perhaps to transport logs, pulpwood, firewood, or other timber.

The Private Woodlands of the Province

The private woodlands of the province, as before mentioned, are generally the property of farmers—necessarily small proprietors. The timber composing these forests is of various kinds. In some localities are found both high forests and coppice and pure stands of maple, while in others are forests composed of birch, beech, maple and ash in mixture with spruce, fir and pine. In the north of the province these woods are composed exclusively of resinous trees, such as fir, spruce, pine and cedar. It is thought that they are divided about equally between the hard and soft woods.

To these agricultural forest reserves belong the maple groves of which Canadians are so proud. This timber wealth occupies the poorest or the most rocky of soils, those most unsuitable for agriculture. In this one fact is found a powerful argument for careful preservation. The woods are sometimes isolated, and sometimes grouped, like those extending from Terrebonne to Berthier, and they are the last vestiges of the mighty forest that formerly covered the central plain of the St Lawrence. Here were once the most

beautiful forests of pine, spruce and cedar, also of oak, elm, ash, beech, cherry, maple and other woods.

According to the chief forester of the province, these valuable private reserves are usually improperly managed. While a few farmers, who deserve encouragement, take a jealous care of their forest lands, the majority do not seem to realize that it is contrary to their interests to cut more trees than the forest will annually replace. Many of the farmers sell their timber rights without any restriction as to diameter or time limit, very often at an absurdly low figure. Leaders of public opinion in Quebec in both church and state have in recent years raised their voices against so improvident a policy, but with so little effect that it has been suggested that a law be passed in the near future to prevent the ruin of the private forests, especially those on lands unsuitable for agriculture.

Danger of Exhaustion

It is of course not surprising that the scarcity of wood, which has already made itself severely felt in many of the older parishes and in all the cities, should have produced a more active cutting of their woodlands by the farmers. From them come the bulk of the firewood, occasional logs for the local saw-mill, and most of the pulpwood exported to the United States. The production of sugar and syrup from the maple groves adds considerably to the revenue of the farmers' bush lots, some of which are now exceedingly valuable, being held as high as fifty dollars per acre, a price almost equal to that offered for the best agricultural lands.

As before intimated, there is unfortunately some danger at present of an almost complete exhaustion of the forest lands owned by farmers in certain parts of the province. Already in a great number of the parishes from the county of Bellechasse to that of Rimouski, the farmers, having completely cleared their lands of trees, are now obliged to buy and to transport at great expense, not only the wood necessary for new buildings or to repair old ones, but all their firewood as well.

In many newer parishes the same condition appears inevitable. The late Monseigneur Laflamme, of Laval University, declared, a few years ago, that he had it from a number of the parish priests in Beauce that the high price of pulpwood was inducing the farmers of their parishes to cut down and sell off their remaining timber to such an extent that in from twenty to twenty-five years none would be left.

On the other hand, the far-seeing policy of the late Hon. Sir Henri Gustav Joly de Lotbinière, in creating compulsory timber reserves on all lands sold by him out of his seigneurial domain, has successfully perpetuated in that part of the province the necessary supply of woodland for the present and future requirements of the settlers. In selling small bush lots of fifteen to twenty acres each to provide fuel and construction material to the purchaser and his descendants, the following clause was inserted in the deed :

> It is moreover agreed between the parties to the present deed, that the said lot is sold upon the express condition that no portion of the same shall be cultivated, that no wood or branches shall be burnt thereupon, that the lot will be preserved as a ' wood lot ' by the purchaser, his heirs and assigns, and that no wood from the said lot shall be sold, under penalty of paying to the seller, his heirs and assigns, the sum of $100.

Where a lot was sold for the purposes of settlement, a timber reserve was always stipulated in the following terms :

> Permission is given to open and cultivate the said lot up to such and such a limit, [here comes the restriction] that the remainder of the said lot shall not be cultivated, that no wood or branches shall be burnt upon it, that the said portion of said lot shall be preserved as a ' wood lot ' by the purchaser, his heirs and assigns for their own use, and that no wood shall be sold from the said reserve under penalty of $100.

In both cases the deeds further state that the clauses cited are not only for the protection of the seller from fire that might spread to his adjacent lands, but to protect the

purchasers as well from the same danger. Allusion was also made to the fact that the sale in a case of a 'bush lot' is made to furnish the purchaser with fuel and building material which he could no longer find anywhere in the vicinity of his home. In the case of lands to be settled, the forest reserve or 'bush lot' was invariably made at either end of the lot, so that all the bush lots in a district should be contiguous. The purchaser was not allowed to select his timber reserve. Had he been permitted to do so, he would invariably have chosen for it the worst part of his land and that containing the least timber. Those of the lots in question that were sold thirty and thirty-five years ago as purely 'wood lots' are to-day covered with a dense growth of timber, and on those that were sold for settlement the reserve has been almost invariably respected and the terms of the deed adhered to.

There are in the province no less than two million acres of uncultivated lands, now given up by farmers as unproductive, that were imprudently cleared when unfitted for agriculture, or that have been destroyed by fire or ruined by excessive cropping. It is now proposed to reforest a great part of these lands, of which many are only a burden to the municipalities in which they are situated, or to induce the municipalities themselves to do so and to form of them small communal forests, with the assistance of the government, which has established a forest tree nursery at Berthier. Farmers are also being encouraged to reforest the barren and unproductive tracts of their own lands.

As an instance of the rapidity of growth of a second forest in some parts of the province, the case may be cited, on the authority of Senator Edwards, of a farm at Round Lake on the Gatineau, bought from Hamilton Brothers in 1871. Thirty-five years later a thick forest of pine was found growing where at the time of purchase there was nothing but hay. Several of the trees that had grown up in the meantime were measured; three of these were fourteen inches in diameter at thirty inches from the ground, one fifteen, one seventeen, one eighteen and one nineteen.

The damage caused to the forests of Quebec by fire can

scarcely be over-estimated. It is an admitted fact that more timber has been destroyed by fire than has been felled by the ax of the lumberman. About 1825 an extensive conflagration consumed almost all the existing timber in the rear of Kamouraska and some of the adjoining counties. In the early seventies of the nineteenth century the greater part of the Saguenay and Lake St John district was swept by one of the most destructive fires on record. The country along the line of the Quebec and Lake St John Railway has suffered by a number of disastrous forest fires. Millions of dollars' worth of the finest timber in the Ottawa country has fallen a prey to the devouring element. One of these fires, which consumed three millions' worth of timber, was caused by the carelessness of a settler in Pontiac County, who was clearing land for a five-bushel potato patch. There is no doubt that ignorance and carelessness on the part of settlers on the edge of the forest have been responsible for many of the forest fires. Others have been caused by river drivers, many of whom have been negligent in the extinguishing of fires made for cooking their meals or for their camp at night. Fishermen may have caused some fires, but the average angler is a lover of the woods, and is careful to cause no damage. Dr Bell has testified to the large number of fires that he has known to have been caused by lightning, especially in the Far North. In recent years one of the most prolific agents in starting forest fires has been the sparks from the railway locomotive.

The government of the province is not blind to the importance of a more common-sense protection of the forests against fire, and modern practical legislation has been placed on the statutes during the last few years, making stringent rules regarding locomotives passing through forest lands, and also limiting the season during which fire may be used for clearing land for settlement purposes.

Upon the timber limits leased from the province there is now employed quite an army of fire rangers, whose salaries are paid by the limit-holders, but whose operations are directed by a government official known as superintendent of the Forest Protective Service. Thanks to liberal expenditure

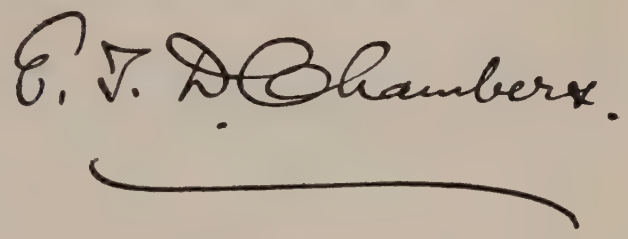
on the part of the lumbermen, and to the zeal and discretion that both they and the department of Lands and Forests have displayed in recent years, the forests of Quebec have escaped serious loss by fire since 1907. Some of the lumber merchants have connected different portions of their limits by telephonic communication for the purpose of being able to summon and concentrate aid in the event of fire, and some have also established look-out stations at elevated points upon their limits.

Apart from fires, much damage has been caused to a portion of the forests by the spruce bud-worm and the larch saw-fly. Between 1882 and 1896 the latter insect was responsible for the almost total destruction of the mature tamarac of the province. The spruce bud-worm has done some damage to large tracts of balsam pulpwood and timber, but no considerable injury has been caused to spruce, and it is hoped that science may succeed in the near future in neutralizing the ravages of these pests by the study and introduction of their various parasites.

The Provincial Forestry Service

The organization of an efficient forestry service was undoubtedly the most forward step ever taken in the interest of forest preservation in Quebec. In 1905 G. C. Piché and Avila Bedard, two young men possessed of the necessary qualifications for this service, were sent at the expense of the government to Yale for the purpose of following the university course of instruction. Piché also visited the forest universities of France, Germany and Sweden, and on his return legislation was adopted creating the Forest School of Quebec, with the object of forming a body of young men educated in the science of forestry, some of whom will remain with the government to assist in the care and development of its forests, while the services of others will no doubt be sought by the lessees of forest territory. Of this school G. C. Piché is director, and is also the head of the Provincial Forestry Service. The Forestry Service has charge of all exploration work on the unsurveyed territory of the pro-

vince, of the classification of soils, of the overseeing of lumber operations on crown lands, of reforestation, and of all other technical works and studies of the department that relate to forestry. The exploration work is expected to be of great importance, since it will include the reconnoitring of unsurveyed territories for the purpose of acquiring a general knowledge of their soil and forest conditions. This will facilitate a selection of those which are suitable for division into farm lots and settlements, and of those which should be reserved as timber lands and for lumbering operations. Had this policy been adopted many years ago, much spoliation of the forest as a result of attempted settlement on unsuitable lands would have been prevented.



THE FISHERIES

THE FISHERIES

During the French Régime

MORE than four hundred years are believed to have passed away since Basque and Breton fishermen gathered their first harvest of the sea in the New World from waters that still furnish employment to the fishermen of Gaspe and Labrador. Jacques Cartier, in the description of his first voyage to Canada, in 1534, tells of the sedentary fisheries of the Micmac Indians in Chaleur Bay, and even describes the nets that they employed and the large quantities of mackerel that they took in them near the shore.

After Cartier's explorations and descriptions of the new western lands and of the fisheries of their seas, Norman merchants reached out so promptly for the commercial possibilities of the lands and waters of New France that, in January and February of 1542, no less than sixty ships went 'to fish for cod in the new lands.' References to the fish and fishing of New France in the early part of the seventeenth century occur in the pages of Champlain, of Lescarbot and of Sagard. Le Clercq, who was at Chaleur Bay in 1675, wrote that from four hundred to five hundred Frenchmen visited Percé at a time for the cod fishing.

The French archives give many details of the fishing rights conceded by the crown in New France, both on the Gaspe coast and on that of Labrador. Nicholas Denys, who was himself engaged in the cod fishery of Chaleur Bay, gives us a charming picture of the industry as carried on there in 1672, when he wrote his *Natural History of Acadia*, and it is interesting to note that the method of dressing and drying the cod two and a half centuries ago on the Gaspe coast, as

described in this book, is almost identical with the procedure followed by Chaleur Bay fishermen of the present day.

The sea fisheries of New France quickly attained considerable importance and were the source of an extensive commerce. They were regarded with the greatest favour by the heads of the state because they called for the services of accomplished sailors, and so became the nursery of explorers, discoverers, and recruits for the navy. Louis XIV took a deep interest in the promotion of these fisheries, and in 1689 signed instructions for the Count de Frontenac reminding him of their great importance to the people of Canada in the matter of commerce as well as of industry. Special instructions regarding their development were also addressed by the court of Versailles to Governor de Callières, in which he was told that 'the establishment of sedentary fisheries was one of the best means of employing the king's Canadian subjects and to develop the great riches of the colony, and that it was necessary for the Governor to support them with his authority and to give all possible assistance to those who undertook to establish such fisheries.'

The First Great Fishery Company under British Rule

Almost immediately after the fall of New France, capitalists from the Channel Islands became interested in the Canadian cod fisheries. The Robin family, from Jersey, established themselves in Chaleur Bay in 1764, under the title of Charles Robin and Company; and by gradually securing control of most of the minor establishments of the country, both on the north and south shores of the Gulf and also in Chaleur Bay, this firm succeeded in virtually controlling the cod fisheries of the Gulf for close upon a century, building up an industrial system in connection with the products of the sea second only in exclusiveness and importance to that of the Hudson's Bay Company during its practical monopoly of the fur trade. In the middle of the nineteenth century its annual export of fish to Spain, Hayti and Brazil

amounted to 40,000 quintals annually. Sixty years after the founding of the Robins' establishment at Paspebiac, a former clerk of the concern, David le Bouthillier, established a rival house on the coast, which after an existence of a quarter of a century was exporting 25,000 to 30,000 quintals of dry cod annually. The firm name of the Robins has changed with time; till 1886 it was Charles Robin and Company; then it became C. Robin and Company, Limited; a few years later it amalgamated with Collas and Company and the title became the Charles Robin-Collas Company, Limited. Up to this time the capital of the company was all found in Jersey, and the entire transaction of the fishing was carried on in accordance with orders from across the sea. But in 1904 Collas and Whitman of Halifax entered the company, and the business is now the C. Robin-Collas Company, Limited, with headquarters at Halifax. To-day, with the main establishment at the historic centre, Paspebiac, the company controls twenty-eight fishing stations along the shores of Gaspe, from Chaleur Bay to a point well up the mouth of the St Lawrence, as well as on the north shore of the river and on the Labrador coast. A delightful story of the operations of these Jersey fishing establishments in Gaspesia and the Gulf of St Lawrence is told by Dr John M. Clarke of Albany in his *Heart of Gaspe*, published in 1913.

The Fish of Quebec

The finest cod in all America is said—on the authority of the late L. Z. Joncas, a prominent expert—to be cured on the coast of Gaspe. 'It is well known in the markets of Spain, Italy and Brazil, where it is generally sent, the large fish going to the Mediterranean countries in bulk, and the smaller fish to Brazil in drums containing 128 pounds.' The fish are exposed on 'flakes' or scaffoldings to dry, after having been cleaned and split open. If the weather is fine, with sunshine and westerly winds, cod is easily cured and a fine quality of the product ensured. In easterly winds with rain, which sometimes prevail for weeks together on the

coast, much of the fish is spoiled, and has to be carefully culled before shipment, the greater part of the best quality being sent to Europe and Brazil, and the inferior to the West Indies and the American markets.

As a general rule the Quebec fishermen still fish for cod in open boats in the vicinity of the bays and coves near which they reside, though many of them venture twenty to thirty miles from shore. These boats are often built by the fishermen themselves, and vary from twenty to thirty feet keel, with a breadth of beam of from six to ten feet. Pointed at both ends, their rigging consists generally of two sprits or gaff-sails, though some of those intended for fishing on the banks are schooner-rigged. They are comparatively light, so as to be easily hauled up on to the beach in stormy weather, and are good sailers and behave wonderfully well at sea. Cod appear in the Gulf and Chaleur Bay in the month of May, and occasionally in the latter part of April. The arrival of the fish on the coasts is heralded first by the herring and secondly by the capelin. The latter is a small fish, the favourite food of the greedy cod, and therefore the best fishing bait; and although cod are sometimes fished with trap nets, they are chiefly caught by long hand-lines from fishing-boats anchored in from ten to fifty fathoms of water.

Dr Wakeham, the inspector, says that in the summer of 1911 cod were more plentiful in the southern waters of the Gulf, off the shores of the Magdalen Islands and of the mainland of Gaspe and Bonaventure, than he remembers ever before to have seen them during more than forty years' experience on the coast; and they were not only abundant, but of fine quality and in good condition. The returns for Gaspe and Bonaventure showed an increase of 25,000 hundredweight over the yield of the preceding year. On the north shore the fishing was also good about Magpie and St John's River, but from Natashkwan it was very poor indeed. The dogfish, which committed serious ravages among the cod and other fish during the first years of the present century, have apparently diminished in number during the last two or three years. On the other hand, the white porpoises were numerous during the summers of 1910, 1911 and 1912,

especially from Fame Point westward in the St Lawrence, and wrought considerable destruction among all kinds of fish, specially interfering with the herring catch.

Spring herring have been fairly plentiful during the last few years. They strike in to the Gulf with the spring tides nearest to May 1, and are first found at the Magdalen Islands. A few days later they appear at the head of Chaleur Bay, then along the coast of Gaspe, later at Anticosti, the final catch of this spawning herring being made just above Cape Whittle on the north coast, at a place called 'the Bluff,' early in June. During the rest of the season catches of herring are more or less uncertain inshore, though a considerable fishery for fat herring is carried on along the Gaspe shore west of Cape Rosier. Notwithstanding the uncertain character of their movements, Dr Wakeham does not believe that there is any diminution in the numbers of the schools of herring in the Gulf. But both herring and mackerel fishing are very much neglected by the fishermen of Quebec, though it is known that the fish are more plentiful than formerly in the Gulf. Scarcely any attention is now paid to mackerel except in the vicinity of the Magdalen Islands.

Some 70,000 salmon, valued at about $80,000, are annually taken in nets by fishermen in the province. The disproportion between the value to the country of salmon taken in nets and that of the same fish when captured by anglers is enormous.

Increased canning operations have for some time threatened the lobster industry of Quebec, but fishermen are now paying more attention to the requirements of the law governing the size limit of the fish to be taken, and to the preservation of the spawn for the hatcheries.

The Government and the Fisheries

No special departmental attention appears to have been paid to the fishery interests of the old Province of Canada until the organization, in 1858, of the Fisheries branch of the department of Crown Lands, with W. F. Whitcher at its head. The Hon. Joseph Cauchon was the father of the

Fishery Act of 1857, and the Hon. L. V. Sicotte of that of 1858, under the provisions of which the new branch was organized. In 1857 attention had been forcibly drawn to the importance of the fisheries by a stirring report on the subject by Cauchon, and also by the publication in the same year of Richard Nettle's book *The Salmon Fisheries of the St Lawrence*, dedicated by permission to the governor-general, Sir Edmund Head. Nettle became, in 1857, superintendent of Fisheries for Lower Canada, and about the same time established, at his residence in Quebec, the first fish hatchery in Canada.

Commander Fortin was the prime mover in the establishment of telegraphy in the Gulf to report the movements of ships and of schools of fish. Fortin had done good service since 1852 in the cause of protection while stipendiary magistrate in the Gulf. In 1860 he was appointed to act under instructions from the Crown Lands department in all that related to the fisheries. To him we owe the compilation of a number of valuable reports on the fisheries of the Gulf.

The system of protection maintained under the government of the Province of Canada up to the time of Confederation was practically continued under the federal department of Marine and Fisheries. Thereafter, up to the year 1883, the Province of Quebec exercised no control whatever over the fisheries within its limits, and consequently not the slightest reference to them is to be found in any of the provincial departmental reports prior to that year. The judgment of the Supreme Court in the case of *The Queen* v. *Robertson*, in 1882, gave to the provinces the fishing rights in waters bounded by crown lands remaining in their possession, and then, for the first time, the Province of Quebec may be said to have come to her own in the matter of her valuable fisheries.

The provincial act 46 Vict. cap. 8 charged the commissioner of Crown Lands with the administration of these rights and privileges, and W. W. Lynch, the commissioner at that time, at once organized within his department a fishery branch, which is now entirely separate from it and administered by

the minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries. Lynch inaugurated, so far as the Province of Quebec is concerned, the system, pursued at the present time, of leasing a certain number of angling privileges to sportsmen, who materially aid the province in the work of protecting salmon, trout and other fish from illegal capture, though the Dominion government had already issued leases of salmon-fishing privileges, both in New Brunswick and in Quebec.

The total market value of the commercial fisheries of Quebec usually runs from $1,500,000 to $2,000,000. In 1911-12, the last year for which there are complete returns, the total value was $1,868,136, the principal items of which were cod $788,640, lobsters $363,832 and herring $303,029, of which $180,508 represented the value of the fish used as bait, and $25,266 of that used as fertilizers. Salmon, most of which was marketed fresh and frozen, realized $91,924. Rather more than 12,000 men are employed in the fisheries of the province, while the value of the fishing-boats, nets, lines and other material used in the commercial fisheries has been estimated at over a million dollars.

Inland and Sporting Fisheries

Turning to the inland and the sporting fisheries, it is worthy of note that while the 70,000 salmon caught in nets yielded some $80,000, the much smaller number killed by fly-fishermen must have represented an expenditure of at least $100,000. The annual value of Quebec's inland game fisheries has been estimated at $2,000,000. The provincial government alone collects considerably over $10,000 from angling licences to non-resident fishermen, while leases of angling waters bring in over $50,000 more. Some fish and game clubs spend from $10,000 to $50,000 a year in the province.

Quebec's salmon rivers may be grouped in two divisions —those of the Gaspe peninsula and those on the north shore of the River and Gulf of St Lawrence from the Saguenay to the extremity of the Canadian Labrador, including certain tributaries of the Saguenay. There is scarcely any salmon fishing worthy of the name west of the Saguenay, though in

former times almost every important tributary of the St Lawrence as far west as Lake Ontario was a salmon river. Poachers and the pollution of the streams are responsible for the changed condition of the fishing in these rivers. A few salmon still attempt the ascent of the Jacques Cartier and the Ste Anne-de-Beaupré Rivers, and both these and other streams east and west of Quebec might undoubtedly be restocked with advantage and success, provided that the pollution of the water ceased, the fish were protected in the rivers, the number of the nets below them in the St Lawrence were materially reduced, and proper fishways were constructed in all dams below the natural spawning grounds of the salmon.

The salmon rivers flowing into the Saguenay, and the most accessible of those emptying themselves into the St Lawrence River and Gulf from the Saguenay to the eastern limits of the province, are leased to private individuals and clubs, and are carefully preserved.

The Bergeronnes, the Escoumains, the Portneuf and the Sault-au-Cochon Rivers, which are passed in the order mentioned in the descent of the River St Lawrence from the mouth of the Saguenay, formerly contained salmon, the Escoumains in particular having been an exceptionally good salmon stream. Lower down, on the north shore, are the Outardes, the Manikuagan, the Pentecost and the Ste Marguerite. These all contain salmon below the falls near the mouths of the rivers, and might be made good rivers for salmon through many miles of their courses by proper protection and the erection of suitable fish ladders. A number of smaller rivers along the coast might also be made into good salmon rivers by first purchasing and then abolishing the netting privileges in the vicinity of their estuaries, and by a judicious planting of young fish.

Some of the remaining rivers on the north shore, including the Moisie and the St John, are extremely rich in salmon ; some, including the Godbout and the Trinity, have been so carefully preserved that they are literally alive with fish during the open season. The Moisie is renowned for the large size of its fish, which rival in this respect those of the Cascapedia. James J. Hill pays the province an annual rental of $3300

for the fishing of the St John River of the north shore, and there is another river of the same name flowing into Gaspe Basin which also yields a substantial annual rental. The Natashkwan on the north shore, which contains a great abundance of medium-sized salmon, is leased to the Labrador Salmon Club, consisting chiefly of anglers from New England; while the Washikuti and the Olomanoshibo are leased to Sir Charles Ross. Another famous north shore stream is the Watshishu, in which one angler in a month's fishing killed 182 salmon, having a total weight of 1639 pounds. Most of the north shore salmon streams contain trout, and some of them ouananiche as well. The sea-trout, which ascend them to spawn, are in many streams very large and numerous, especially those of the Trinity, the Moisie and the Godbout. There are a number of excellent unleased salmon rivers on the north shore east of the Washikuti, all to be reached by yacht from Natashkwan or Point Esquimaux, which, while they remain unleased, are open to the fishermen of the province or to any non-resident anglers provided with the ordinary licence. The more important of the salmon rivers flowing north into the St Lawrence are the Matane, the Magdalen and the Ste Anne-des-Monts. The Dartmouth, the York and the St John of the south shore flow into Gaspe Bay, and while the fishing in them is largely controlled by lessees, there are excellent pools in both the York and St John open to visitors on easy terms.

Into Chaleur Bay flow some of the choicest salmon rivers of the continent, including the far-famed Cascapedia, which brings to the government a rental of $12,000 a year, the Bonaventure, the fishing rights of which are let for $2250 a year, the Grand River, well stocked with large salmon, the Grand Pabos and the Little Pabos, and, most important of all, the Restigouche and its tributaries, said to be worth from a million to a million and a half dollars for their salmon-fishing privileges alone. Individual salmon pools on the Restigouche have been sold for as much as $30,000 each.

The distribution of fish throughout the interior of Northern Quebec has been greatly facilitated by the apparent interlacing of the waters of the various river systems. Thus the

head-waters of some of the feeders of the Ottawa, the Gatineau, the St Maurice and the Lake St John or Saguenay system are only a few miles distant from each other, while others of the Lake St John waters are separated by only narrow divides from the head-waters of rivers flowing into James Bay on the one-hand, and into the lower St Lawrence at Bersimis on the other.

In the Rupert River the sea-trout and whitefish ascend from James Bay to the foot of the lower falls, some miles from the mouth, in such abundance that the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company's crews collect there from miles around to scoop out, by means of landing and bag nets, their winter supply of fish from among the rocks at the foot of the chute.

Speaking of the fish wealth of the northern part of Ungava, the most recently acquired territory of the Province of Quebec, Dr A. P. Low of the Geological Survey of Canada says :

> All the lakes and streams are abundantly stocked with fish, including large lake trout, brook trout, whitefish and suckers. Salmon are abundant in the rivers flowing into Ungava Bay, and young salmon were caught on the Stillwater River to within a few miles of Natuakami Lake. A northern trout, probably Hearne's salmon, is very plentiful in the lower parts of the rivers and along the northern coasts from Cape Jones to Ungava Bay, where it varies in weight from two to fifteen pounds, and averages five to six pounds.

Lake Mistassini contains in great abundance all the varieties of fish found in the inland Labrador peninsula waters, with the exception of the ouananiche and the sturgeon. Not only are speckled trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*) and dore or pike-perch found here in very large numbers, but grey trout (*Christivomer namaycush*), often called 'lakers,' and lunge and salmon trout, from five to fifty pounds in weight. The common pike (*Esox lucius*) and the whitefish are plentiful, not only in Mistassini but also throughout the waters of Northern Quebec. Lake Wakonichi, less than twenty miles south of Mistassini, contains the same fish, and so also

does Lake Albanel, paralleling Mistassini to the east. Not far from Wakonichi is the dividing ridge between the Rupert River waters and those of the Nottaway. The chief difference between the fish of the two systems is that sturgeon abound in the Nottoway waters but are not caught in the Mistassini or Rupert waters. They are found also in the Obatagamau River and its tributaries, but are not found in the lakes immediately surrounding Chibougamau. In Lake Chibougamau, however, brook-trout are taken of from four to six pounds in weight, whitefish from four to eight, pike and pickerel from eight to ten pounds, and lake-trout of very large size and excellent quality.

Passing to the Nottaway system, whitefish of large size and excellent flavour, besides bass, pike and sturgeon, abound in Lakes Waswanipi and Mattagami, and there is not very much difference in the character and varieties of the fish in the waters found after crossing to the south from the basin of James Bay, over the height-of-land. In the maze of streams and lakes forming the headwaters of the Ottawa, the Gatineau and the St Maurice, the chief distinction is that trout, which are scarcely observed at all in the Bell River waters, and are almost entirely absent from the headwaters of the Ottawa in Northern Pontiac, are found in the upper waters of the St Maurice and the Gatineau. Bass, pike, pike-perch, whitefish and the coarser kinds of fish are found everywhere in these waters, while in the larger rivers and lakes, such as Kakabonga and Grand Lake Victoria, sturgeon also abound. The country drained by the Gatineau is thickly dotted with bass and trout lakes. Many of these would undoubtedly have been cleared of all the fish they contain long ago by the men employed in lumbering and in railway building and other enterprises, but for the fact that they were protected by clubs and private individuals having exclusive fishing privileges granted by the government of the province.

In such waters as those of the lower Ottawa and of Lake St Louis and the lake country north of Montreal, which have been subject to over-fishing and the practice of illegal methods, the fishing has greatly deteriorated. In the vicinity of Valleyfield, however, at the dams and about the entrance of

the Beauharnois canal, and as far west as the provincial boundary, there is good fishing for dore, pike, whitefish, perch, and some bass, as well as at Vaudreuil and Ste Anne-de-Bellevue ; while in the St Lawrence itself the best maskinonge fishing in the river is to be found immediately below the provincial line. Very large maskinonge are also taken at Ste Anne-de-Bellevue.

In the northern portion of the province, traversed by the line of the National Transcontinental Railway, especially in what is known as the St Maurice country, the new road is opening up very large areas of good sporting districts ; and what is probably the best trout fishing in the province is to be had here. In the northern parts of Maskinonge and Champlain Counties as well as in portions of St Maurice, and in what is known as the Lake St John country, prominent fish and game clubs, which have for some years past leased tracts of forest lands and waters for sporting purposes, have so admirably protected these territories that the whole of the surrounding country is swarming with fish and game. One of these clubs, the Laurentian, spent $49,743 in the district in 1910, and employed thirty-five servants in its camps and forty-five guides on its territory.

The basin of the Saguenay is the home of the ouananiche —the great game fish of the inland waters of North-Eastern Quebec. It is noteworthy that this fish is entirely absent from the waters of the Hudson Bay, the James Bay and the Ottawa systems. Its geographical distribution is quite general, however, throughout the northern and eastern portions of the Ungava peninsula. Dr Low found it in the Koksoak River for a distance of nearly two hundred miles below Lake Keniapiskau. It has been taken in the great Lake Mishikamau at the head of the North-West River, which empties into Lake Melville, and also in both branches of the Hamilton above the Great Falls. In this river, says Dr Low, ' there is the finest trout fishing in Canada, all large fish, none under three pounds, and from that to seven pounds and plenty of them in all the rapids.'

Ouananiche are found in all the tributaries of Lake St John, and are exceedingly plentiful in the Grand Discharge

of the lake in the months of June and July, and here, and at the foot of some of the cascades in the large northern rivers emptying into the lake, is to be had the finest fly-fishing for ouananiche. Trout are plentiful in all the smaller feeders of the lake and also in the lesser streams and lakes that empty into the larger tributaries.

The Laurentides National Park, which occupies much of the space between the Quebec and Lake St John Railway and the Saguenay, is famous for the abundance of speckled trout in its waters, as also are the waters of the surrounding country.

South of the St Lawrence there is some fishing to be had along the whole length of the Richelieu River from Lake Champlain to Sorel, but it has lost much of its former reputation. Excessive netting in the past, and the use of smaller meshes in the nets than should have been allowed, are largely responsible for this depletion, and the same causes have led to the wholesale reduction in the supply of both game and food fishes in the St Lawrence, so that large sturgeon and striped bass or bar, once so plentiful, are now seldom seen. Black bass are taken in the Richelieu in a number of localities, and grow large in Brome Lake at Knowlton. Lake-trout, pickerel and whitefish thrive in Lake Memphremagog. Good trolling is to be had in Lake Megantic for large lake-trout and bass, while speckled trout are found in the bays and inlets. In Lake Temiscouata and throughout the Squatteck country there are excellent fishing waters, where the brook-trout are large and afford good sport. Lakes well stocked with speckled trout abound in the county of Rimouski, and although some of them have been leased to private parties, there are many that are free to all residents of the province, and also to non-residents provided with the necessary licence.

E. T. D. Chambers.

HISTORY OF MINING IN THE PROVINCE

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Character of the Country

As the history of every country as well as the character and extent of its mineral resources is directly influenced by and in a large measure dependent upon its physical features and the agencies that have produced them, it may be well to introduce this outline of the history of mining in the Province of Quebec by a short statement concerning the great physiographic divisions of the province.

The Province of Quebec falls naturally into three divisions :

(1) The south-eastern or Appalachian area ;

(2) The Central Plain, through which runs the River St Lawrence ;

(3) The Northern Highlands or Laurentian region.

The first of these divisions lies to the north of the River and Gulf of St Lawrence and is formed by the northerly continuation of the Appalachian mountain ranges, which, crossing the border from the State of Vermont, continue in a north-easterly direction to the extremity of the Gaspe peninsula. In Quebec these mountains are known as the Notre Dame range. The rolling country on the south-eastern slopes is known as the Eastern Townships. The Notre Dame mountains are not, however, except in portions of the Gaspe peninsula, mountains in any strict sense of the word, for the Appalachian ranges, on passing over the border, lose their height and develop into a succession of ridges—forming a rolling country that contains a large amount of good farming and pasture land, with a general elevation of from five hundred to one thousand feet above the sea, from which,

however, rise a number of high hills known locally as mountains. The area also contains a number of large and beautiful lakes.

The tract of country is underlain by an exceedingly contorted series of ancient rocks of pre-Cambrian and lower Palæozoic age. It contains the asbestos, copper and gold deposits of the province as well as quarries of granite, marble, slate, etc.

The Central Plain extends over an area of about ten thousand square miles, having as its eastern gateway the city of Quebec. To the west it broadens out, stretching level and fertile, to Lake Ontario. It is nowhere more than three hundred feet above sea-level. The River St Lawrence runs through it and is its most striking feature. The tide reaches to Three Rivers, half-way between Quebec and Montreal, and the latter city is situated at the head of ocean navigation on the St Lawrence. On this rich and fertile central plain the greater part of the population of the province is settled. The soil is underlain by horizontal strata of lower Palæozoic age, chiefly limestones, and, while yielding a rich return to the farmer, it is not an area that contains great mineral wealth. It affords, however, the raw material for a large and rapidly growing industry in Portland cement, brick, and building stones.

The Northern Highlands or Laurentian region includes by far the greater part of the province. This area has been still further increased by the recent action of the federal parliament, in adding to the province the great northern territory of Ungava in the Labrador peninsula. It is a part of the great northern protaxis of the continent of North America, the primitive foundation of the earth—composed chiefly of granitic rocks of Laurentian age with belts of pre-Cambrian rocks appearing here and there upon its surface. It is a plateau with a slightly undulating surface, having an average elevation of about one thousand five hundred feet above sea-level, and is studded with countless lakes. Here is the gathering-ground for many streams and rivers, which, as they cascade down into the valley of the St Lawrence, are capable of developing enormous water-powers. The region

is furthermore covered with continuous forest as far north as the limits of arboreal vegetation. Deposits of mica, apatite, graphite and other minerals to be mentioned later occur in this Laurentian region.

Early Explorations

While it was the lure of gold that drew the Spaniards to South America and Mexico, the adventurers to New France were attracted by other hopes. It was the fur trade and the desire to found new colonies and to bring to the inhabitants of these wild lands the blessings of religion that more especially actuated the founders of New France. It was naturally supposed that in the northern portion of the 'Indies' the precious metals so lavishly distributed in the south would be found; but in the accounts of the exploration and early settlement of Canada we find relatively few references to minerals and mines. When Jacques Cartier on his second voyage pushed up the St Lawrence as far as Hochelaga, or the present site of the city of Montreal, the Indians, he tells us, accompanied him to the summit of Mount Royal, which commanded a magnificent view over all the surrounding country, and from which he could see, stretching far into the west, the land of promise that he hoped one day to occupy in the name of France. As he surveyed the landscape, one of the Indians laid his hands upon the silver chain of the captain's whistle and upon the handle of a dagger which was bright yellow like gold and made signs that such things came from up the river which we now know as the Ottawa. But when the captain showed them red copper and asked by signs whether it came thence also, they shook their heads and made signs that it came from 'Saguenay,' by which they apparently meant the region of the Great Lakes,[1] those lands that were, according to the commission given to the explorer by Francis I, 'a portion of Asia on its western side.'

In the account of his third voyage Jacques Cartier mentions that at Cap Rouge, near Quebec, where he built his fort, there was an iron mine and deposits of rock that con-

[1] Lescarbot, *History of New France*, vol. ii. p. 122 (Champlain Society).

tained leaves of gold—neither of which can now be located. Near by also were 'slate, stone with mineral veins looking like gold and silver, and stones like diamonds the most fair—polished and excellently cut—that it is possible for man to see. When the sun shineth upon them, they glisten as it were sparkles of fire.' The 'gold' was probably mica, and the 'diamonds' were the quartz crystals of rather peculiar form that are found here and that have given to the cape on which Quebec stands the name Cape Diamond.[1]

In the narratives of the later explorers of the territory that now forms the Province of Quebec there are comparatively few references to the occurrence of minerals in the country. The *Relations des Jésuites* contain scarcely a reference worthy of mention.

However, as years passed by and the country became settled, a number of important and valuable deposits were discovered, and a mineral industry of very considerable extent was developed. The history of this industry presents two features of rather marked interest—the first being that in the province there arose the earliest iron-smelting industry in North America, and the second being that as the territory became more thoroughly explored a number of minerals of somewhat unusual character were discovered, among which may be mentioned the asbestos, chromite, apatite and graphite deposits that are now well known throughout the world.

Mineral Products: General Statistics

The following tables show the total value of the mineral products yielded annually by the province for the past thirteen years and the production of various minerals in the province in the year 1911.

Value of the Annual Mineral Production of the Province of Quebec

1899	$2,083,272
1900	2,546,076
1901	2,997,731
1902	2,985,463

[1] S. E. Dawson, *The St Lawrence Basin*, p. 198.

1903	$2,772,762
1904	3,023,568
1905	3,750,300
1906	5,019,932
1907	5,391,308
1908	5,458,998
1909	5,552,062
1910	7,323,281
1911	8,679,836

These figures show that during the past twelve years the increase in output amounts to 251·5 per cent, a percentage increase that is only exceeded among the provinces of the Dominion by Ontario, where the great increase has been due to the discovery and development of the Cobalt camp.

The Mineral Production of the Province of Quebec in the year 1911

	Quantities	Value (dollars)
Asbestos	102,224 tons	3,026,306
Asbestic	25,733 „	19,802
Copper Ore and Pyrites	38,554 „	240,097
Gold	590 ounces	11,800
Silver	23,000 „	11,500
Bog Iron Ore	931 tons	4,041
Ochre	3,612 „	28,174
Chromite	197 „	2,469
Mica	..	76,428
Apatite	595 tons	5,882
Graphite	753,405 pounds	33,613
Mineral Waters	168,489 gallons	65,648
Titaniferous Ores	3,789 tons	5,684
Slate	..	8,248
Cement	1,588,283 barrels	1,931,183
Magnetite	885 tons	6,416
Marble	..	143,457
Flagstone	6 squares	500
Granite	..	308,545
Lime	1,284,914 bushels	284,334
Limestone	..	1,128,402
Bricks	176,532 M.	1,129,480
Tile, Drain and Sewer Pipe, Potters, etc.	..	142,223

	Quantities	Value (dollars)
Quartz	500 tons	1,125
Feldspar	30 „	600
Peat	175 „	700
Glass Sand	440 „	1,179
Sand	..	62,000
	Total	$8,679,836

These figures are taken from the report of the superintendent of Mines of the Province of Quebec for the year 1911.

Iron Ore

In the great plain that flanks the Laurentian Plateau on the south and through which the St Lawrence flows, important deposits of bog iron ore occur. These are especially abundant in the district about Three Rivers. Lying as they do on the surface, or covered only by a few feet of sandy or boggy soil, their existence was recognized early in the history of the colony. The discovery of these deposits dates back to 1667, and in the following year the Sieur de la Potardière was sent to Canada from France to examine those in the vicinity of Three Rivers. His report was unfavourable, and in consequence the deposits were not exploited. In 1733, however, by order of Louis XV, the bog iron ores in this district on the St Lawrence River were opened up, and an establishment for smelting them was erected at a place called Le Village des Forges, about nine miles above Cap-de-la-Magdeleine. The work was carried on by a company with but little success until the year 1740, when the charter reverted to the Gouvernement de Trois Rivières, and in 1743 the king ordered that the forges should be reunited to the royal domain and worked on account of, and in the name of, the king. This was done; and the furnaces erected in 1737, although they changed hands several times, were in constant operation, except during short intervals when work was suspended for repairs or owing to changes in management, from that time until they were blown out in 1883, having the distinction at that time of being the oldest active blast furnaces on the American continent.

Peter Kalm, who visited these works in 1749, quaintly observes in his *Travels into North America* :

> It is agreed on all hands the revenues of the iron works do not pay the expenses which the King must every year be at in maintaining them, which is surprising, for the ore is easily broken very near the iron works and very fusible. The iron is good and can be very conveniently dispersed over the country. They are, moreover, the only iron works in the country. But the officers and servants belonging to the iron works appear to be in very affluent circumstances.

Other furnaces for smelting the bog iron ores of this district were erected later. That at Batiscan was built about 1798, the Radnor forges in 1860, the L'Islet furnace in 1869, and the blast furnaces at Drummondville in 1880-81. Of these only the last mentioned is now in blast. The ore smelted in the district in former years was exclusively the bog iron ore of the vicinity or the lake ore from Lac à la Tortue. Of recent years, however, an increasing proportion of the harder and richer ores from Ontario and the United States has been mixed with the bog ores. The fuel burned is exclusively charcoal, and a pig-iron of high grade is made which is used for special purposes, such as the manufacture of car wheels, etc.

The iron industry of this region has in the last few years shown a marked decline. The bog ore deposits of the Three Rivers and Drummondville districts have been more or less worked out and no other iron deposits have been discovered which take their place.

Magnetic iron ore and hematite also occur in Quebec at a number of points and have been worked from time to time. Of these, the most important are those occurring in the township of Bristol on the Ottawa River, thirty-five miles above the city of Ottawa, and those at Hull and at the Haycock location in the vicinity of Ottawa.

The ore at the Bristol mines is a magnetite low in phosphorus but containing a considerable amount of sulphur, which necessitates roasting. The deposits, opened up in

1872, are extensive. The ore was mined at intervals until 1894, and a considerable tonnage has been shipped to the United States. In 1909 a magnetic survey of the deposits made by the federal department of Mines seemed to indicate that very important ore bodies, the existence of which had been hitherto unsuspected, occur in this field.

The ores near Hull are magnetites and were also worked many years ago. About eight thousand tons were mined between 1854 and 1858, and were shipped for the most part to Cleveland. In 1867 a blast furnace was erected, but was in operation only during portions of the years 1867 and 1868.

Another series of deposits that have attracted attention from time to time is the 'iron sands' of the north shore of the Gulf of St Lawrence. These sands are dark in colour owing to the presence in them of grains of magnetite and ilmenite. Speaking generally, it may be said that all the sands on the beaches of the north shore contain grains of magnetite. In some places, and more especially in the vicinity of the estuaries of the large rivers, the sandbanks contain a considerable quantity of the ore, while the dunes also show a remarkable richness. The largest deposits are those at Betsiamites, Moisie, St John and Natashkwan. Estimates of the amount of iron ore in these sands have been made by different persons who have examined them; these estimates vary greatly. In 1912 a careful study of the whole question of the extent of the ores and of the possibility of utilizing them was made for the government of the province by Professor Dulieux.

A plant for smelting this iron sand was erected in 1867 at the mouth of the Moisie and continued in operation for several years, wrought-iron being produced directly from the ore and shipped to the United States in the form of bars. The venture, however, was not a profitable one and the plant was dismantled in 1876-77.

Enormous bodies of titaniferous iron ore and ilmenite are also found in many localities of the province. These occur in close association with the great intrusions of anorthosite found in the Laurentian system. They have attracted

much attention on account of their great size. One of the largest deposits is found at St Urbain, eight miles from Baie St Paul on the lower St Lawrence. The ore contains about thirty-five per cent of iron and about forty-nine per cent of titanic acid. In 1871 an English firm, the Canadian Titanic Iron Ore Company, erected at this place two blast furnaces, equipped them with hot air blast and a complete plant, and built a tramway to the River St Lawrence. It also secured wood lands for the production of charcoal for the furnaces as well as limestone quarries from which to obtain suitable flux. These furnaces were in blast from November 1872 till May 1873, and produced during that time about five hundred tons of excellent pig-iron. Owing, however, to the very refractory character of the ore, the consumption of charcoal per ton was so great that the company closed its works and went into liquidation, the plant being sold for next to nothing and finally dismantled. This and similar experiences elsewhere were considered to prove that these titaniferous ores could not be utilized.

A new era now seems to be opening up for the employment of these ores, and 3789 tons of titaniferous iron ore were mined at St Urbain in 1911 and shipped from Baie St Paul. Part was sent to the works of the General Electric Company at Lynn, Mass., to be used in the manufacture of certain types of arc lights, while the remainder was sent to the Titanium Alloy Company of Niagara Falls, N.Y., where it was employed in the production of special types of steel and ferrotitanium compounds. It is now realized, moreover, that steel made from titanic iron ore not only has a high elastic limit but also rusts much less readily than ordinary steel when exposed to moisture, and thus there is arising for it a demand that promises to increase as the merits of the steel come to be more generally recognized.

As has been shown, the smelting of iron is not an industry of great importance in Quebec. Only one furnace, that at Drummondville, is now in blast. The cause of this small output lies in the fact that no coal for the smelting of these ores occurs in the province, neither does there seem to be any point where coal, iron ore and flux can be cheaply assembled

as at Midland or Hamilton in the sister province of Ontario. The ores must be smelted with charcoal, and this, while yielding an iron of excellent quality, naturally restricts the output. It is probable that as time goes on the great water-power available in Quebec may be utilized in the electric smelting of these ores for the production of special varieties of iron or steel.

Chromite

This mineral, which is the source of the various chromium salts used in the arts and manufactures, has long been known to exist in large quantities in serpentine belts occurring in the south-eastern portion of Quebec, in the folded country that constitutes the portion of the Appalachian mountain belt extending into Canada. It is in association with the same rocks in which the great occurrences of asbestos are found in this region. The chromite has been most extensively worked in the township of Coleraine. Mining was first seriously undertaken in the year 1894, when 1000 tons, valued at $20,000, were raised. During the years immediately succeeding, this output was increased, although the amount produced varied considerably from year to year. From 1905 to 1908 mining was especially active, the highest output being reached in 1906, when 9035 tons, valued at $91,859, were won, almost the entire amount being sent to the United States. Since 1908, however, the industry has rapidly declined, and in 1911 only 197 tons were shipped. The falling off in production is attributable chiefly to the very low price at which the chromite from New Caledonia is now delivered in New York.

Chromium compounds have, however, in recent years been meeting with an ever-increasing application. They are now largely employed in tanning and in the manufacture of certain kinds of steel ; but concurrently with this development new sources of supply have been discovered, particularly the great deposits in Rhodesia, that have come to occupy in the last few years the foremost place as sources of this valuable mineral.

While, therefore, Quebec was a few years ago one of the chief producers of chromite, the industry in the province is now practically at a standstill.

Gold

Gold was discovered in the Chaudière district of Quebec as early as 1823 or 1824, and since that time this region is estimated to have yielded gold to the value of $3,000,000. The pyritous deposits of Capelton and Eustis also were originally developed as gold mines, but the percentage of gold decreased as the lower levels were reached, while the amount of copper greatly increased. Gold, however, is still an appreciable element in the value of these ores. The province has not, however, kept pace as a producer of the precious metal with her sister provinces, Nova Scotia and British Columbia.

In the south-eastern portion of Quebec the three chief fields in which gold has been worked are: (1) those along the Chaudière and its tributaries; (2) that in the township of Ditton; (3) the deposit in the township of Dudswell. The gold is found in alluvial sands and gravels of pre-Glacial age, which occur in the valleys of this part of the province and which are usually deeply covered by boulder clay and other deposits of the Glacial age. In the valleys of the modern rivers and streams the gold is most abundant at places where these have cut down through the drift and intersected the more concrete pre-Glacial deposits, thus washing out their gold. Much of the gold found is comparatively coarse, occurring in large nuggets, one of which is reputed to have weighed as much as 51½ ounces; and the gravels have in places been found to be very rich.

The production of gold in the province in 1911 was valued at $11,800, the greater part resulting from the operations of a company known as the Champs d'Or de Rigaud-Vaudreuil, Limited, which is now attempting to develop these deposits under proper conditions and to work them on a large scale by hydraulic washing. In two preliminary runs this com-

pany obtained thirty-seven cents and forty-seven cents respectively per cubic yard of gravel washed—nearly twenty thousand cubic yards being worked over in the two trials. The progress of the enterprise will be watched with great interest, for on its success depends to a certain extent the renewal of mining activity in the gold-bearing gravels of the Eastern Townships.

The sage observation of Sir William Logan, the first director of the Geological Survey of Canada, in reporting upon this district in 1852, apparently expresses the truth with regard to these deposits, namely that 'the quantity of gold in the valley of the Chaudière is such as would be remunerative to skilled labour and should encourage the outlay of capital,' but he adds that 'the deposit will not in general remunerate unskilled labour, and agriculturalists, artisans and others engaged in the ordinary occupations of the country would only lose their labour by turning gold hunters.'

As the working of placer gravels has frequently led to the discovery of still more valuable deposits in the rock from which these were derived, search has been made for the source of the gold in these alluvial deposits. The bed rock is generally much decomposed and often contains segregations and veins of quartz. These, when assayed, frequently show the presence of free gold. The bed rock itself is shown by the methods of modern petrography to consist of porphyry and other allied volcanic rocks, very highly altered in character and usually possessing a schistose structure. These rocks belong to the same series as that which contains the auriferous copper ores, to which reference will be made later. The auriferous quartz veins that they contain have not, however, as yet been actually worked for gold.

Copper Ore and Iron Pyrites

Copper ore has been mined in Quebec for many years, although the annual output has never been great. The presence of copper ores in the province was known as early as

1841. Attention was apparently first called to their existence by Sir William Logan, who, in the reports of the Geological Survey of Canada for 1847-48, describes certain occurrences of copper pyrites in the Eastern Townships. With regard to these deposits he stated that the amount of copper present seemed in most of them to be too insignificant to make them worthy of further notice, but that there were three that appeared to be sufficiently rich 'to justify the risk of a small careful trial.'

One of these localities was in the township of Inverness, and shortly after the publication of Logan's report the Megantic Mining Company was organized to work this and certain other properties that it had purchased. This company, which still exists, is the only survivor of the many organizations chartered for the mining of copper in this region in those early days. In an interesting paper on the 'Early Mining of Copper in the Province of Quebec' that appeared in a recent volume of the *Transactions of the Canadian Mining Institute*, Dr James Douglas refers to these early operations and mentions his father as having, on a visit to this property in Inverness, found one of the local shareholders of the company reading by the light of a candle stuck into a keg of blasting powder, and another calculating on the best way of disposing of his enormous prospective fortune and deciding patriotically that he would pay off the British national debt.

In 1853 the Quebec and St Francis Mining Company commenced work at Harvey Hill, and mining was continued on this property by successive companies, but without marked success, until 1879, when the last concern working it was formally wound up.

Copper is now known to exist in some five hundred localities in this part of the province. The metal was extensively mined between the years 1859 and 1866. During this period only the richer ores were touched, and copper was the only element sought for in them. The price of copper, however, declined during the following years and mining almost ceased, but between the years 1875 and 1885 it was resumed on several properties, and one group of these mines has been

worked continuously for about thirty years, a depth of approximately three thousand feet having now been reached. Since this resumption of mining, the sulphur and other constituents of the ore as well as the copper have been utilized. From 1893 to 1910 the amount of ore annually mined varied between 23,000 and 65,000 tons.

The ore consists chiefly of chalcopyrite associated with pyrite and occurs in or closely associated with three belts of pre-Cambrian rock from two to fifteen miles in width, which run in a north-east and south-west direction through this portion of the province, following courses approximately parallel to one another.

Some of these ore bodies occur in the schistose porphyrites and andesites of the pre-Cambrian; others occur in limestone or other sedimentary strata of Ordovician age associated with basic intrusive rocks along the line of their pre-Cambrian axes.

The ore bodies have, for the most part, the form of much flattened lenses lying *en échelon* and conforming in a general way to the foliation of the country rock. It may be stated generally that the ores carry at the surface about four per cent of copper, thirty-five per cent of sulphur, and a gold value of from two to four dollars per ton, while at greater depths they yield about three per cent of copper, forty-five per cent of sulphur, three ounces of silver and a small amount of gold per ton.

At Acton a large amount of high-grade ore, sometimes containing as much as thirty per cent of copper, was produced for several years.

In reviewing the history of copper-mining in the Eastern Townships, an eminent authority, Dr James Douglas, observes that 'it is doubtful whether any of the mines of the province would be singly productive enough to feed a profitable smelter and few copper ores or even copper concentrates can bear a heavy transportation charge. If the copper mines of the province are to be advantageously opened, it should be on some principle of co-operation by a strong company.' He directs attention to the fact that, as already pointed out, these copper deposits occur in three

rudely parallel belts. The first extends from the township of Farnham near Missisquoi Bay to the seigniory of Lauzon on the St Lawrence. The copper deposits at Upton, Acton, Wickham, Roxton, Durham, Wendover, Somerset, Nelson and St Flavien occur in this field. The second belt extends from St Armand to the seigniory of St Mary on the Chaudière. In it are the deposits of Sutton, Shefford, Stukely, Melbourne, Cleveland, Shipton, Chester, Halifax, Leeds, Inverness and St Mary. The third belt extends from Owl's Head on Lake Memphremagog to Ham and thence to Vaudreuil, St Joseph and Buckland. On its eastern side are the copper deposits of Ascot, Ham and Garthly. As Dr Douglas observes, these three groups of deposits contain the necessary elements for a favourable smelting mixture. In the first group are the calcareous ores of Upton and Acton ; in the second the siliceous and aluminous ores in the slates of the Quebec group ; while the third would yield the essential element of sulphur without which economical smelting cannot be conducted. Such a scheme, Dr Douglas remarks, would of course require much preliminary study, prudent development work, and abundant capital for its realization should the study and development work justify further steps. Singly the deposits are probably too small to be self-supporting and their ores are unfit for isolated treatment, whereas consolidated they may afford material for a successful enterprise.

One of the most important of the early copper mines in the province was the Acton mine, which is situated in the locality now known as Actonvale, about seventy miles from Montreal. The discovery of copper here is credited to H. P. Merrill. The outcrop at the time of its discovery presented an accumulation of blocks of copper ore, consisting of bornite, associated limestone and siliceous matter, covering an area sixteen paces in length by ten in width. These evidently represented the outcrop of a bed, and on the continuation of this for seventy paces in either direction the country rock was observed to hold little seams and patches of ore. In the autumn of 1858 Louis Sleeper, of the city of Quebec, who was engaged in exploring for copper, visited the locality, and, being im-

pressed with the appearance of the outcrop, leased the property on royalty from its owner, a Mr Davis of Montreal, for a period of three years, and proceeded to open it up. So successful were his operations that at the expiration of a little over a year he sold his lease and retired with a large profit.

It was largely in consequence of Sleeper's success with this mine that such marked attention was directed to copper-mining in the Eastern Townships during the succeeding years. Great expectations were entertained for the future of this deposit, and in an interesting account of a visit to the locality which appeared in the *Canadian Naturalist* for 1860, and which is noteworthy as showing among other things the great improvement that had taken place during the interval in the agricultural development of the district between Montreal and Actonvale, the writer says of the latter place : ' The barren fields which formerly might have been purchased for an old song are now transformed into town building lots and rising enormously in value. According to the course of things, the village bids fair to become ere long a town, and the town in due course to be raised to the rank of an incorporated city.'

Three mines in the vicinity of Lennoxville are especially worthy of mention, not only on account of their early history, but also owing to their present importance. These are the Eustis, the Capel and the Albert. They are situated on what is in all probability one extensive deposit—a great body of iron pyrites with a variable admixture of copper pyrite. The properties were at first worked for the copper alone, but in more recent years have been mined more particularly as sources of sulphur, the copper and the small amount of associated gold and silver being subsidiary, although valuable, products.

The Eustis mine was opened in 1865, and up to June 1869 about twenty thousand tons were smelted to a forty per cent regulus on the spot, in addition to which a large amount was shipped to sulphuric acid works in the United States. The Eustis mine has been in continuous operation since 1885 and is stated to have produced about six hundred thousand

tons of ore in the last thirty years. It is now the principal shipper. Most of the ore is sent to Boston, where it is used in the manufacture of sulphuric acid, the copper-bearing cinder being then sent to the smelter of the Eustis Company at West Norfolk, Virginia. Some of the ore, however, is sent to the Nichols Chemical Company at Capelton, Quebec, where also it is used in the manufacture of sulphuric acid. The copper content of this ore from the 19th to the 24th level has during the past six or eight years averaged less than two per cent, with a gold value of less than eighty cents per ton.

The Capelton mines derive their name from one of the early owners, George Capel. After the property had been carefully surveyed and prospected, it was decided to divide it into two parts, the eastern area to be known as the Prince Albert Copper Mine and the other as the Capel or Capelton Copper Mine. The mines soon passed into the hands of Montreal capitalists, who commenced operations that have been carried on, although under change of ownership and management, until the present time. From the Montreal firm the property passed to Taylor & Sons of London, who attempted to extract the copper by the Henderson process; but the method proved unsatisfactory, and the mines eventually came under the management of the Nichols Chemical Company of Canada, which now controls and operates them. In 1887 works were established at Capelton for the manufacture of sulphuric acid, to which a plant for the production of superphosphate was added later. In 1908 the company produced sulphuric acid, mixed acid, salt cake and Glauber's salt.

The cinder produced in the process is smelted into a matte at Capelton, and then shipped to the company's works at Laurel Hill, Long Island, U.S.A.

In the fall of 1909 a small copper smelter was erected at Actonvale, and was blown in during the spring of 1910. This plant is still in the experimental stage.

At present the copper industry of the Eastern Townships is in a quiescent condition; the low price of copper is in part responsible for this, but other conditions also mili-

tate against a resumption of active operations. One of the chief of these is the attitude assumed by the majority of owners of unexplored and undeveloped properties, who have not sufficient capital or are unwilling to undertake the risks of development themselves, and who yet ask prohibitive prices for their properties and are unwilling to allow them even to be tested by others.

Apatite

This interesting mineral occurs in large deposits along the southern margin of the Laurentian Plateau between Montreal and Ottawa as well as in the district about Perth in the Province of Ontario, where Laurentian rocks are also found.

Its occurrence in this region was pointed out as early as 1847 in the report of the Geological Survey of Canada by T. Sterry Hunt, who at the same time directed attention to the mineral's great value as a raw material for the manufacture of artificial fertilizers. Little attention, however, was paid to these deposits for many years; but about 1871 a few tons were mined near the little rapids on the Lièvre River. From that year the production increased steadily till in 1885 an output of 28,535 tons was reached, having a value of $490,331. This came chiefly from the region north of Buckingham and from the district to the west between that town and Hull. In the succeeding years, however, the demand fell off rapidly. In 1892 the production was 10,000 tons, while in 1893 the output fell to 5748 tons, and since that time the total annual production has averaged only about 1000 tons.

The sudden collapse of this very promising industry was not due to any diminution in the visible supply of apatite in the Canadian mines, but was brought about by the discovery of immense deposits of phosphate rock in Florida and other south Atlantic States, which, while of lower grade than the Quebec deposits, could be more cheaply mined and more easily manufactured into fertilizers. It is probable that as the more available supplies of these phosphates

become partially exhausted, with consequent rise in price, the apatite deposits of Quebec will regain much of their former importance.

The small annual output of the past fifteen years is obtained almost entirely as a by-product in the mining of mica, for very shortly after the apatite ceased to be a marketable product, a brisk demand for mica arose. The two minerals occurring in association, it happened that in several cases a mine that had once been worked for apatite and closed down was reopened and worked for mica, while the dumps of waste from many of the apatite mines were worked over for the mica that they contained.

The small annual output of apatite is now shipped from the mines to Buckingham, P.Q., where it is used in the manufacture of artificial fertilizers by the Capelton Fertilizer Company, and for the production of phosphorus and ferrophosphorus by the Electric Reduction Company, Limited.

Mica

Three species of mica are of commercial importance—muscovite or colourless mica, phlogopite, which is of an amber colour and is hence often referred to as 'amber mica,' and biotite or black mica. All three of these occur in the Province of Quebec, the deposits being confined to the ancient crystalline rocks of the Laurentian mountains.

The muscovite occurs as one of the constituent minerals in coarsely crystalline granite dikes known as pegmatite, feldspar—used in the manufacture of porcelain—and quartz being the other chief constituents. Such dikes, although rarely sufficiently large to be profitably worked, occur abundantly in almost every part of the Laurentian country. The amber mica, on the other hand, while also confined to the Laurentian, is found in quite a different manner. It occurs in the pyroxene rocks and is associated with the coarsely crystalline limestones of the Laurentian system. The apatite of the Laurentian, as has been mentioned, occurs in the same deposits. Biotite is found in association with both the muscovite and the phlogopite.

The mining of mica was commenced in Quebec in 1884 at the Villeneuve mine in the township of Villeneuve in Ottawa County. This mine produced muscovite plates of large size and fine quality, and this was the only species of mica that had any commercial value at that time. It was used largely as a substitute for glass in lanterns, for stove fronts, fire screens, lamp chimneys, spectacles for stone and metal workers, etc., and also in the manufacture of certain paints and wall papers. In 1890, however, with the rapid advances made in the manufacture of electrical machinery, a demand arose for a good insulating material that could be obtained in thin sheets of uniform thickness and that was also flexible. Mica was found to combine these properties to an eminent degree, and as the amber mica was more abundant and more easily obtained than the colourless muscovite, a market for it rapidly developed. In addition to the phlogopite, some of the associated biotite is also mined. Canada is the only country in which the amber mica or phlogopite is worked on a commercial scale, and here the mines are practically confined to a relatively small portion of Quebec, lying to the north of the Ottawa River between the valleys of the Gatineau and the Lièvre Rivers.

Mica of all kinds, after being taken from the mine, must be prepared for the market by cleaning, trimming, grading and splitting. This is sometimes done at the mines, and in other cases in special factories. The cuttings obtained in this process of preparation are also an important factor in the industry, being used in the preparation of non-conducting coverings for boilers and steam-pipes, or, when ground, in the manufacture of lubricants, etc.

The production of mica is very irregular and varies considerably from year to year, the output being influenced by the varying demand with consequent fluctuation of price. The Quebec product is largely exported to the United States, England and Germany; but a very considerable quantity of it is also used by the companies engaged in the manufacture of electrical machinery in Canada.

Asbestos

As will be seen by consulting the table on page 575 setting forth the mineral products of Quebec for the year 1911, the value of the asbestos output far exceeded that of any other mineral in the province.

Asbestos is a fibrous variety of the mineral serpentine and occurs chiefly in the form of narrow intersecting veins in a massive serpentine rock, which is an alternation product of peridotite. This peridotite is intimately associated with pyroxenite and allied rocks, the whole forming a very interesting series of igneous rocks intruded into a series of highly altered sediments of Cambrian and Ordovician age.

The whole supply of asbestos comes from a relatively small area in the Eastern Townships, which produces over eighty per cent of the total output of the world. The existence of asbestos in this area was made known by the Geological Survey of Canada as far back as 1847-48, but it was not until 1877 that mining was commenced, fifty tons being produced in the first year.

The newly discovered asbestos deposits were worked vigorously during the twelve succeeding years, and in 1890 the yield had increased to 9860 tons. During this period the best asbestos, namely that occurring in the larger veins and readily detachable from the enclosing rock—known to the trade as ' crude asbestos '—was cobbed out by hand, but no satisfactory method for recovering the very short fibre was known. It was found that, except in rare cases, it would not pay to work the serpentine for the longer fibre alone, and consequently the next five years, from 1890 to 1895, were spent in experimentation, and during this time methods were devised for the economical extraction of the lower grades of asbestos having the shorter fibre. From 1896 to 1911 the output rose from 10,892 tons to 102,224 tons, the longer (' crude ') fibre being separated by hand, and the rest of the rock—' mill stock '—being sent to well-equipped mills, in which the shorter fibre—' mill fibre '—is separated by various mechanical processes.

The values of the various grades of asbestos in 1911 ran from 'Crude No. 1,' composed of fibres about one inch in length, which sold for $277.40 per ton, to 'Mill Stock No. 3,' which sold for an average price of $13.57 per ton, although some of this grade sold for as low as $5 per ton. The demand for the short low grade or milled fibre has greatly increased in recent years and some of the mines produce this grade alone.

Asbestos is employed for a great variety of purposes. In Europe the long fibre is used for spinning, weaving and braiding various incombustible fabrics. The shorter fibre is used for non-conducting coverings for steam-pipes, boilers, etc., for packing steam valves, for lining furnaces, for the manufacture of millboard, asbestos paper and other forms of insulating material, and for a hundred minor purposes. A very extensive industry has recently developed in the manufacture of asbestos slates and shingles, in which a percentage of the short fibre is mixed with cement and compressed into the required form. These are strong, elastic, and offer great resistance to the processes of atmospheric decay.

Most of the mines are situated within a few miles of one another and are in the vicinity of Black Lake and Thetford. A second centre—East Broughton—lies about twenty-five miles to the north-east; while a third centre of the industry is at Danville, about forty-five miles to the south-west. The district is traversed by the Quebec Central Railway, and the Shawinigan Power Company has a power line extending throughout the district. The St Francis Hydraulic Company supplies power to some of the mines, which, with two exceptions, are operated by electricity.

The 'mines' are all great open cuts, with the exception of the Bell Mines, Limited, which, in addition to surface workings, have some 20,000 feet of underground workings in asbestos-bearing rock.

Graphite

Graphite, or, as it is sometimes called, plumbago or blacklead, occurs very widely disseminated in the rocks of

the Laurentian system of the Province of Quebec, and more especially in that part of the Laurentian country underlain by the Grenville series, characterized by the presence of great bodies of crystalline limestone and having its chief development along the southern border of the Laurentian Plateau. Here, more especially in the district about Grenville, Buckingham, and to the north of the city of Ottawa, graphite is frequently seen, occurring in some places in large deposits. Some of these have the form of veins, but usually the mineral occurs in flakes disseminated through the crystalline limestones or the associated gneisses. When found in the last-mentioned manner, it can only be won by a process of grinding and concentration.

These graphite deposits attracted attention early in the development of the country. In 1862 a deposit was being worked in the township of Grenville, while prospecting was being carried on extensively in the townships of Buckingham and Lochaber. In 1867 a small mill was erected in the township of Buckingham by the Canadian (afterwards the Montreal) Plumbago Company on what was known as the 'Castle' property. The mill was operated until 1873, in which year it was destroyed by a forest fire. The graphite produced by it was used largely for the manufacture of stove polish. In 1875-76 the Dominion of Canada Plumbago Mining Company erected a large mill in the same township, and this was in operation for several years, the property subsequently passing into the hands of the Walker Mining Company, which continued operations intermittently until 1895. In 1905 operations at this plant were resumed by the Buckingham Graphite Company, which owns 1388 acres of graphite lands, with a mill having a capacity of two tons of refined graphite per day.

Other important workings are the Bell mines, three and a half miles from the town of Buckingham, the Peerless Graphite Company and the Dominion Graphite Company, each with its own mill. The last-mentioned company possesses the largest plant, the mill having a capacity for treating two hundred tons of rock per day.

The problems facing the managers of the Canadian

graphite mills have been difficult of solution and many attempts have met with failure. The principal cause of such failures is the difficulty of concentrating the graphite, disseminated as it is through rocks of varied character. These difficulties, however, seem now to have been overcome, and the graphite industry is to all appearances on a satisfactory basis. The amount of graphite shipped in the year 1911 was 753,405 pounds, which is more than double the output of the preceding year and by far the highest production that has been recorded up to the present time.

Ochre

In addition to the bog iron ore found in Quebec, there are very extensive bodies of finely divided or pulverulent oxide of iron in the form of iron ochres. Such ochres are known to occur at many places in the soil of the great Central Plain, more especially where it skirts the flanks of the Laurentian Plateau.

These deposits, however, are worked only in one district, that between Champlain and Three Rivers, a short distance from the banks of the St Lawrence, this area yielding practically all the ochre that is now produced in Canada. An attempt to work these deposits was made by a New York firm as early as 1851 ; a furnace was erected, and operations were carried on for a time and then abandoned. In later years they were again opened up, and there are now three companies working the ochres of the district. Of these the most important are the Canada Paint Company of Montreal and the Argall Company. The operations of the former are carried on chiefly at the ' Red Mill Plant,' situated on the St Malo range of Cap-de-la-Magdeleine. Here there is a bed of ochre, extending over about six hundred acres, interstratified with peat, and in its turn underlain by shell marl. Logan considered this deposit to have been laid down in what was originally a lake in which marl was first deposited. Over a part of this surface ochre was then laid down, and this was followed by a second growth of peat, which has since, in its turn, been covered by a more recent deposit of

ochre. These layers vary from six inches to ten feet in thickness, and the ochre is found in five different forms; these when properly burned give colours ranging from brown to deep purple, including Venetian and Indian reds, raw and burnt Siennas, and raw and burnt umbers.

Operations were commenced on this deposit in 1888, and at present from 1000 to 2000 tons of ochre per annum are produced, all of which is manufactured into paint.

The total quantity of ochre produced has risen from 350 tons in 1886 to 4813 tons, valued at $33,185, in 1910. There was a slight falling off in 1911, but the output has not varied greatly during the past ten years. Of the output in 1910, 1813 tons were manufactured into paint, while 3000 tons were shipped to gas-works throughout Canada to be used in the purification of illuminating gas.

Cement

Within the last few years the manufacture of Portland cement has become a very important industry in Quebec. Its growth will be seen in the accompanying table:

	Barrels	Value
1904	33,500	$50,250
1905	254,833	408,000
1906	406,103	625,570
1907	...	640,000
1908	801,695	1,127,335
1909	1,011,194	1,314,551
1910	1,563,717	1,954,646
1911	1,588,283	1,931,185

This cement is made from limestone and clay and is manufactured in the three large mills of the Canada Cement Company situated at Longue-Pointe, Pointe-aux-Trembles and Hull. These mills have a combined capacity of 7000 barrels a day.

Cement now ranks second among the mineral products of the province, being exceeded in value only by asbestos. The industry, moreover, is one that has a bright prospect in the future, for with the rapid growth in the population

of Montreal, Ottawa and the other cities of this part of Canada, and with the great increase in building operations and all works of construction that is accompanying this growth in population, the demand for cement becomes greater every year, and the range of its application wider.

Stone, Brick, etc.

Considerable quantities of marble and granite are now quarried in the Province of Quebec. Limestone is also largely worked for a building stone and for burning lime.

The manufacture of brick is a flourishing and rapidly growing industry. Large quantities of pressed brick and silicate brick as well as ordinary brick are made.

Drain pipes, tiles and other forms of earthenware are extensively manufactured by the Standard Drain Pipe Company at St Johns.

Aluminium

A very interesting and recent development in the metallurgical industries of the province is the smelting of aluminium by the Northern Aluminium Company at Shawinigan Falls on the River St Maurice, about twenty miles from Three Rivers. In the case of this industry, however, the raw material, beauxite, is imported. The company was incorporated in the year 1902, and makes use of the enormous water-power afforded by the St Maurice River at this point for the development of the electric power by means of which the metal is smelted. The plant is very extensive, covering an area of about ten acres, and has a capacity of 50,000 lb of aluminium per day.

Calcium Carbide

Another industry that has recently been introduced is the manufacture of calcium carbide. The Shawinigan Carbide Company was incorporated in the year 1902, as a subsidiary company to the Shawinigan Water and Power

Company, for the manufacture of this product. The company uses as raw material lime, coke and coal, the limestone being obtained from localities in the vicinity, while the coal and coke are brought in from Pennsylvania.

The works have a capacity of fifteen tons of calcium carbide per day, the product being in part exported and in part sold in the home market.

Conclusion

As will have been noted from the brief sketch given in the foregoing pages, the Province of Quebec has not up to the present time developed as great an industry in minerals and mining as have several of her sister provinces. In the year 1911 she ranked fourth, being surpassed by Ontario, British Columbia and Nova Scotia, while Alberta also exceeded her output in 1910 and will probably do so again in the near future. The three last mentioned provinces have a greater mining industry than Quebec, chiefly on account of the fact that within their territories great coal deposits have been discovered and are extensively worked. The preeminence of Ontario is largely owing to the great silver deposits found at Cobalt, and the great nickel and copper deposits discovered in the district about Sudbury.

Coal will never be found in Quebec, for the geological systems that underlie its territory are all too ancient to carry valuable coal deposits. But in the great Laurentian Plateau which stretches away to the Far North, especially in that recent addition to it represented by the territory of Ungava, which as yet has been but imperfectly explored, there is in all probability great mineral wealth awaiting discovery and development. The Appalachian portion of the province and the valley of the St Lawrence form a district which is insignificant in size as compared with this great northern hinterland. And furthermore, the belts of the same pre-Cambrian (Keewatin and Huronian) rocks that in Ontario hold the rich silver deposits of Cobalt, the copper and nickel of Sudbury, and the gold of Porcupine Camp, strike across into Quebec, where undoubtedly in the future a wealth of

these metals will be found. Already indications of them have been observed by explorers who have traversed this great region; great low-grade iron deposits have been discovered in several widely separated areas; and as time goes on, and this northern country becomes more easy of access by the railways which are now in course of construction, the Province of Quebec may be expected to show a great expansion of its mining industry by reason of new discoveries in this 'great lone land.'

Frank D. Adams

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